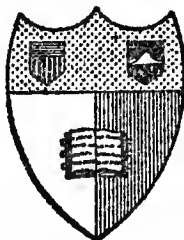


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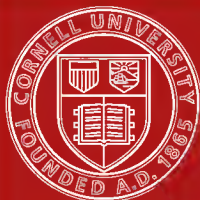


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RAPHAEL

*“ Raphael of Urbino—an example of the
prodigal gifts of Nature, fair in body,
fairer in mind, charming in manner,
admirable in art, unwearied in labour,
eternal in glory.”*

JOACHIM SANDRART

R A P H A E L

BY JULIA CARTWRIGHT

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I

RAPHAEL'S PLACE IN ART

RAPHAEL of Urbino has been acclaimed by common consent in past ages as the prince of Italian painters, and in spite of many turns in the wheel of Fortune and many changes of time and fashion, his supremacy remains practically undisputed to this day. There will always be some critics who challenge his title to this place, and to whom the very perfection of his art is a stumbling-block and an offence. There are others who deny his creative powers and declare that he was only gifted with talent of a very high order. It is of course true that Raphael was not a painter of original genius in the same sense as Leonardo or Michelangelo, as Giorgione or Mantegna. He did not break new ground or sweep away old traditions to make way for types and conceptions of his own. But he possessed, in a measure rarely given to any human being, the power of absorbing and assimilating the impressions which he received from a thousand different quarters. Not only in art, but in every other branch of human learning, in history, philosophy, poetry, in the study of classical authors and of contemporary literature, of architecture and archæology, he was always acquiring new knowledge and drinking in all that was best and fairest in the world about him. Each picture or bas-relief that he saw, each scholar whom he met,

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became a fresh spring of inspiration, a new source of strength. When Michelangelo told Condivi, in apparent disparagement of his great rival, that Raphael of Urbino owed less to nature than to study, he spoke the absolute truth. This immense and unwearied diligence, this passion for acquiring knowledge, was the painter's most characteristic feature, and marked his career from beginning to end. In his boyhood, how quickly, yet how perfectly, did he learn the lessons taught him by his first masters at Urbino and Perugia! When he went to Florence, it was to learn "per imparare," as his patroness Duchess Giovanna wrote—to enter practically on another apprenticeship in a new and famous school. And in those wonderful Roman years when he stood at the height of his renown and was the favourite of Popes and princes, we read how he sat at the feet of the crabbed old humanist who had mastered the secrets of Vitruvius and listened humbly and reverently to his words, "counting it still the greatest joy in life to learn." But while he was always receiving fresh impressions and learning new lessons, he never forgot the old. The ideas which he had acquired in early youth, the forms which he had borrowed from Timoteo Viti or Perugino, appear again in the paintings of his Roman days and meet us even in the works of his scholars. In a marvellous way he knew how to select and combine, to alter and adapt these different motives to his own uses. [By his intimate knowledge of the laws of composition, a knowledge due in great part to his reverent loyalty for the great traditions of the past, by his unerring instinct for rhythm and exquisite sense of beauty, he was able to blend and transform all of these separate elements into one perfect and harmonious whole.] His own pure taste and delicate feeling lent the final touch, and his

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claim to originality, it has been truly said, was his excellence.) Nature, in Vasari's phrase, had endowed this fortunate child of genius not only with the rarest powers of mind, but with personal beauty, grace, industry, modesty, and goodness—gifts, remarks the Aretine, "that are seldom seen in artists, who commonly have something strange and savage in their character, which, besides making them moody and fantastic, often gives rise to low and vicious habits, and darkens the splendour of their creations." No such contrast ever made itself felt in the life of Raphael. The gracious spirit of the man revealed itself in the charm and serenity of his work. For once in the history of the human race, Plato's dream was realized, and the world saw a painter whose own beautiful nature was in perfect harmony with his art; whose creations, "like a health-giving breeze from a purer region, drew the soul insensibly into sympathy with the beauty of reason."

"Raphael's nature and achievement," wrote Goethe, "were so perfectly balanced that we may confidently say no modern artist ever attained to such purity and completeness of thought, or to such clearness of expression. His art is, as it were, a draught of fresh water from the purest spring. He feels, thinks, and works exactly as if he were a Greek." So, while Leonardo, in the great German's words, "thought himself weary" and frittered away long years of his life in technical researches and fruitless experiments, while Michelangelo wasted half of his existence in quarrying marble and wrangling with his employers, Raphael's whole life was spent in working at his art with joyous and ever-increasing facility.) In the few short years which were all that the Fates allowed him, he not only accomplished more than any of his contemporaries, but by the simplicity of his genius and

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the clearness of his language he appealed to a far larger circle.

Michelangelo's stupendous creations may impress us more profoundly; the magic of Leonardo's art may attract us by a more subtle spell; but for the vast majority of the human race, Raphael will always remain the greatest and most popular of painters. Even Titian can hardly rival him in this respect. The art of the mighty Venetian, who lived more than twice as long, retaining the glow and passion of youth to the last, is more complex in its aims and less simple and direct in its appeal to mankind at large. Raphael, on the contrary, speaks to us in a language which all can understand, and the range of his sympathies is as wide as human nature itself. On the one hand, his frescoes of *Galatea* and the *School of Athens* embody the highest and noblest dreams of the Renaissance; on the other, his cartoons of *Christ and the Apostles* fixed the types that were employed by all future artists and influenced popular conceptions of Bible subjects for centuries to come. If the living portraits which he has left us of his most illustrious contemporaries are of priceless value in the eyes of the historical student, the divine beauty and tenderness of his Madonnas appeal to the humblest and most ignorant among us. No pictures have been so often copied and reproduced as these; none, we may safely assert, have ever been so universally admired and beloved.

In this country the most serious blow to the prestige which Raphael's name has enjoyed during the last four centuries came from Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelite school of painters. The great teacher who opened our eyes to the beauty and wonder of early Italian art, who lavished his eloquent praises alike on Giotto and Bellini, on Tintoretto and Luini, would have nothing to say to Raphael. He never

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forgave the painter of the Stanze for the academic style and pagan tendencies of his art, and condemned his noblest creations as melancholy productions of the decadence. Ruskin's followers imitated his example, and in their blind worship of the primitives boldly announced that the only art that was holy and sincere existed before the age of Raphael. For a time the great Urbinate's name became a term of reproach, and it seemed as if his works were to be allowed to sink into neglect and oblivion. But the more scientific criticism of recent years has come to the rescue of Raphael's fame. Morelli, the founder of these new and more accurate methods, was the first to brush aside the fables which had gathered round the master's name, and to prove that the vast mass of inferior work hitherto ascribed to him was produced by other hands. The critics who followed in the steps of this able connoisseur and the students who devoted themselves to historical research in the same field have added largely to our knowledge and understanding of the man and his art. They have taught us to discriminate between the works of Raphael himself and those of his followers, and helped us to realize that we can only form a true appreciation of the master's style by a patient and minute study of his own drawings. Thus alone shall we be able to recognize the sublime grandeur of his invention, his marvellous skill in composition, the infinite beauty and perfection of his art.

II

RAPHAEL AT URBINO

1483-1500

IT was fitting that the painter whose art was the finest flower of the Renaissance should have his birthplace at Urbino. Here, in this narrow strip of land between Umbria and the Marches, on the road leading from Rome to Venice and Ferrara, the Montefeltro dukes reigned over a loyal and contented people and made their court the meeting-place of the foremost scholars and artists of the age. Here on the mountain heights, Luciano di Lauranna, the Dalmatian architect, reared that stately palace which in its decay is still one of the wonders of the world, and Duke Federico brought painters and sculptors from all parts of Italy to adorn its spacious halls. The noblest youths and most distinguished humanists were attracted by the fame of the rare books which the Duke had collected from all parts of the world, counting them his most priceless treasure—and might be seen poring over Greek and Latin manuscripts in the ducal library. Down below in the market-place merchants and women read the latest poems or discussed Dante and Petrarch, while the good Duke himself moved freely to and fro among his subjects, talking with the peasants who came in from the country, and greeting the brides who were

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on their way to church with chivalrous courtesy. Here Raphael was born, on the 6th of April 1483. His father, Giovanni Santi, was closely connected with the ducal family in his twofold capacity of Court painter and poet. One of his contemporaries describes him as the Duke's painter, who is also a disciple of the Muses. Another speaks of him as a second Dante. The Santi were originally natives of Colbordolo, a pleasant village on the mountain slopes above the valley of the Foglia, looking over Pesaro and the Adriatic, but their house was destroyed when Sigismondo Malatesta invaded the duchy in 1446 and laid the country waste. Four years afterwards, being threatened with another invasion, they took shelter in Urbino, where Giovanni's father opened a shop and carried on a flourishing business as a dealer in corn and oil. In 1461 he was already the owner of a fertile meadow with a stream of running water, and three years later bought a house in the steep street at the corner of the market-place, known as the Contrada del Monte, now called the Contrada Raffaello. Giovanni must have been born while his father still lived at Colbordolo, for in the dedication of his "Chronicle" to Duke Guidobaldo he recalls the sad day when "flames devoured the paternal nest, and consumed all our substance. It would take too long," he goes on, "to tell of the steep and rugged precipices where my path has lain since then; enough to say that after many different attempts to earn a living, I devoted my life to the wonderful art of painting, of which glorious calling I am not ashamed to call myself the servant." He probably received his artistic training from Melozzo da Forli, who worked in the ducal palace at Urbino from 1474 to 1476, and decorated the library with frescoes of the Arts and Sciences. Giovanni was evidently closely connected

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with this master, to whom he alludes in his "Chronicle" as "Melozzo a me si caro"—and may even have accompanied him to Rome, since a painter of his name is mentioned as Melozzo's assistant in the payments made by the papal Treasurer. The frescoes and altar-pieces which he executed between 1482 and 1493, in the churches of Urbino and the neighbourhood, show a marked likeness to Melozzo's works both in type and feeling. Another painter with whom he was on friendly terms, Piero della Francesca, lodged in the house of Santi when he came to Urbino in 1469 to paint an altar-piece for the confraternity of Corpus Christi, and at the same time executed his admirable portraits of the Duke Federico and his wife Battista Sforza, the Duchess whose "modest and majestic eye" Giovanni praises in his poem. But the artist whom he extols as foremost among living masters is Andrea Mantegna, whose Triumphs he saw at Mantua when, in 1486, he accompanied the young Duke Guidobaldo to visit his betrothed bride Elisabetta Gonzaga, and to whom he pays a splendid tribute in his poem :

Messer Andrea che in ciò tien lo impero.

When he was about forty years of age, Giovanni Santi married Magia Ciarla, the daughter of an Urbino tradesman, who brought him a dowry of one hundred and fifty florins and bore him three children, only one of whom survived infancy. This was the babe whom Giovanni painted in his mother's arms on a wall in the courtyard of his house, in a faded fresco that is still preserved within. We recognize Magia's gentle face, small head, and slender neck in the altar-piece which her husband painted in 1489 for the remote convent of Montefiorentino, while,

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according to an old tradition, the boy Raphael himself figures as an angel, with long chestnut locks and large brown eyes, in a fresco that is still preserved in the Dominican church at Cagli. These two last paintings are among the best of Santi's works. Both are framed on the conventional Umbrian pattern, with rich architectural backgrounds, and are executed with great care and conscientiousness and not without a sweetness of expression in which the father seems to anticipate the son. But in October 1491 Magia Ciarla died, and the painter lost both his wife and mother within a few days. Six months later the burden of these domestic cares, of which he complains in his epistle to the Duke as a perpetual weariness, moved him to seek consolation in a second marriage, and he took to wife the young daughter of a goldsmith named Bernardina di Parte. The death of his beloved master, the Duke Federico, which took place at Ferrara in 1482, was another loss which the painter felt keenly, but he found a kind and generous master in Federico's son and successor, Guidobaldo. When, in 1488, the new Duke celebrated his marriage with Elisabetta Gonzaga, Giovanni composed a dramatic representation in honour of the occasion, and introduced Juno and all the gods of Olympus to sing the praises of Hymen and welcome the youthful bride to Urbino. Two years afterwards he went to Sinigaglia at the request of Guidobaldo's sister, Giovanna, the wife of the Prefect of Rome, and painted an altar-piece of the Annunciation in the Franciscan church, as a thank-offering for the birth of her son, Francesco della Rovere, on Lady-day, 1490.

It was during these last years of his life that Giovanni Santi composed the long "Chronicle" of the life and heroic deeds of Duke Federico on which his

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reputation as a poet chiefly rests. This epic consists of twenty-three thousand lines and is written in *terza-rima*, in evident imitation of the "Divina Commedia." In a prologue full of tender melancholy, the poet tells us how one autumn day, when the leaves were turning yellow and the flowers had faded on hill and vale, he lay down under the boughs of a spreading beech and, oppressed with the burden and weariness of life, mused sadly over its misery until he fell asleep. Suddenly he heard a voice bidding him wake and waste no more precious time in slumber, and a shining form, whom he recognized as the historian Plutarch, led him to the temple of Mars, where he witnessed the triumphal entry of Duke Federico into the hall of the Immortals. Then waking from his dream, he proceeds to sing the dead hero's praises and recount his glorious deeds in peace and war. The poem contains many remarkable episodes such as the description of the palace of Urbino and the well-known passage on contemporary painters and sculptors. It throws light on many incidents in the history of the period and is full of lyrical beauties, but for us its chief interest lies in the fact that it helps us to realize the moral and intellectual atmosphere in which Raphael grew up. It shows us what manner of man his father was, and reveals the extent and variety of his culture, his wide knowledge of classical literature and contemporary art, the force of his character and the sincerity of his religious feeling. Throughout the poem we find the same sense of moral responsibility and of the high service to which the artist is pledged. "In art you have to give your all," the poet writes. "The smallest work demands the whole man, and sad and contemptible indeed is he who wastes in idleness and pleasure the precious time which can never return."

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And all through we trace the samè strain of Virgilian sadness, of yearning for repose and quiet life, the same mournful sense of the vanity of human effort and profound conviction of the shortness and uncertainty of life :

*Vedendo il breve e vil peregrinare
Che noi facciam per questo falso mondo.*

No doubt this melancholy was partly due to failing health and that presentiment of coming doom which already overshadowed the poet-painter's soul.

From the first the young Duchess Elisabetta had shown great regard for Giovanni, and by her desire he visited Mantua in the summer of 1493 to paint the portrait of her sister-in-law, Isabella d'Este. This brilliant lady had been by no means satisfied with Mantegna's portrait of herself and was not much better pleased with Santi's work, "although this painter," she wrote, "has the reputation of taking excellent likenesses." Unfortunately before the picture was finished Giovanni fell ill of malarial fever and was compelled to return to the healthier air of Urbino. There he recovered so far as to finish the Marchesa's portrait early in the following January, and made some progress with two portraits of Duchess Elisabetta and her younger brother Sigismondo, which he was executing for the Marquis. But a return of fever once more interrupted his labours, and after lingering through the summer months he died on the 1st of August. "About twenty days ago," wrote Elisabetta on the 19th to her sister-in-law Isabella, "our painter, Giovanni dei Sancti, passed out of this life, in full possession of his reason and in the most excellent disposition of mind. May God grant him pardon."

While the poor artist's widow and brother wrangled over his modest fortune, the young Raphael, thus left

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an orphan at the age of eleven, was brought up by his uncle Simone Ciarla, who acted a father's part by the child. He it was who, seeing the boy's promise, apprenticed him to the only painter of note then living in Urbino. This was Timoteo Viti, who, after spending five years in the shop of Francia, at Bologna, returned to his native city in April 1495, and settled there for the rest of his life.

Morelli, it is well known, was the first to point out that Raphael must have received his early training from this Urbino master, and the fact that Santi's scholar, Evangelista di Pian di Mileto, to whom Elisabetta Gonzaga alludes in her letter as Giovanni's "garzone," afterwards became Timoteo's assistant seems to confirm this theory. Another proof of the connexion that existed between the two painters at this period is to be seen in the chalk drawing of Raphael by Timoteo's hand, now in the University Galleries at Oxford. In this boy of fifteen or sixteen, with the delicate features and gentle expression on his serious face, and the cap resting on his long locks, we have, it is plain, a portrait of the youthful Raphael in the days when he was a pupil in Timoteo's workshop. But the best confirmation of Morelli's theory lies in the close resemblance that is to be found in the style of the two painters. In the first pictures which Timoteo painted after his return to Urbino, the *Madonna with S. Vitale and S. Crescenzio*, now in the Brera, which originally hung in the Cathedral of his native city, the *S. Apollonia* of the ducal palace and the *S. Margaret* at Bergamo, we see the broad hands and feet, the oval faces and drooping heads, the graceful air and naive feeling that marked the early works of Raphael. This is especially the case with the figure of *S. Vitale* in the Brera altar-piece, which long bore the name of Raphael, and justifies Morelli's



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PORTRAIT OF RAPHAEL BY TIMOTEO VITI (OXFORD).

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remark that Timoteo was Raphaelesque before Raphael. Vasari also notices this resemblance, and tells us that, in his time, Timoteo's descendants still possessed letters which had been addressed to the artist by Raphael, but explains this connexion by saying that Viti was the scholar instead of the teacher of Raphael, careless of the fact that these works were painted when the great master was a child of twelve. Timoteo, whom Vasari describes as a lively youth of six-and-twenty, passionately fond of music, soon won the affections of his scholar, and the two painters became fast friends.

From his father Raphael had inherited his poetic nature and cultured tastes, his strength of will and elevation of character. Now in Timoteo's workshop he acquired that peculiar grace and tender feeling which marked his early works, together with those Ferrarese types and characteristics which his teacher had learnt from Francia and Costa at Bologna.

The first picture which we can with certainty ascribe to Raphael is the *Vision of a Knight*, which hangs in the National Gallery, together with the pen-and-ink sketch from which it was traced. The subject may have been suggested by the ancient myth of the choice of Hercules or borrowed from some mediæval romance. A youth in helmet and armour lies sleeping on his shield under a laurel-tree between two maidens, one of whom, in purple raiment, bears a book and a sword in her hand; while the other, gaily clad in a blue robe with cherry-coloured sleeves and coral beads in her hair, offers him a myrtle sprig. Every detail in the forms, the dress and bearing of the maidens, the type of their faces and folds of their skirts, the hands and features of the sleeping boy, the low rounded hills of the landscape, the towers on the river banks, recall Timoteo's works; while the timid

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execution and childlike sentiment bear witness to the youth and inexperience of the painter. The same careful drawing and naive feeling, the same miniature-like finish, appear in two other little pictures which belong to the same period. One of these is the *St. Michael* of the Louvre, which Raphael painted on the back of a draught-board and which may have been presented by Guidobaldo to the French king Louis XII when, in 1505, he conferred the order of St. Michael on the Duke's nephew, Francesco della Rovere, since it was seen by Lomazzo at Fontainebleau in 1548. The other is the nude group of the *Three Graces* at Chantilly, which, like the *Vision of a Knight*, hung in the palace at Urbino until the ducal collections were taken to Rome in the seventeenth century. The winged archangel brandishing his sword aloft as he tramples on the dragon at his feet might have stepped out of some nursery fairy-tale, while the smoking towers of the city of Dis in the background, and the lost souls tortured by grotesque demons or weighed down by leaden capes "like the hooded monks of Cologne," were evidently copied from some miniatures which adorned one of the manuscripts of the "Divina Commedia" in the ducal library. The *Three Graces*, with their soft cheeks and rounded limbs, each holding a golden apple and wearing a coral string, are just as plainly copied from some Greek gem or cameo in the Duke's collection, and show that the young artist had inherited his father's taste for classical subjects as well as his love of Dante. Here, again, the low green hills of the landscape and the sister Graces are of true Ferrarese type, while St. Michael's oval face and green wings recall the S. Vitale of the Brera altar-piece.

Timoteo, we know, succeeded to the office which Giovanni Santi held at the ducal court, and erected



Hans Holbein d. J.

VISION OF A KNIGHT (NATIONAL GALLERY).

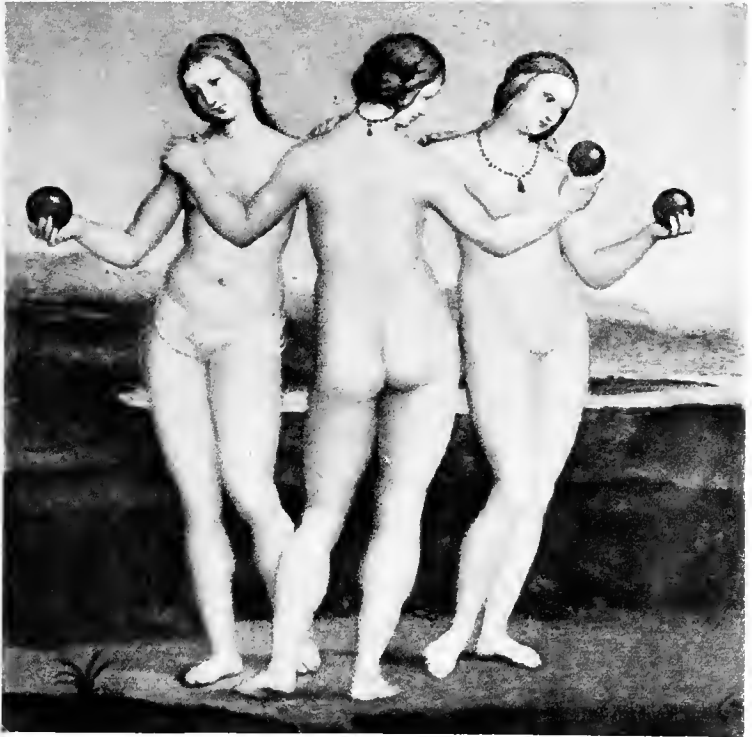
RAPHAEL

triumphal arches and arranged pageants on festive occasions. He also decorated a hall in the palace with figures of Apollo, Pallas, and the Nine Muses. His young scholar no doubt helped him in this task, and may well have attracted the attention of the gentle Duchess, who, we learn from a seventeenth-century writer, the architect Serlio, befriended the boy for his father's sake and started him on the road to fortune. These three little pictures, which were the first-fruits of Raphael's genius, breathe the very air of that ideal Court where Elisabetta sang lines from Virgil and sonnets of Petrarch to her lute, and knights and ladies talked of love and art and glory, through the summer nights, till dawn broke over the far Apennines. And they foreshadow in a remarkable manner the great master's future triumphs in the different cycles of classical study, romantic poetry, and Christian legend.

Two larger and more important works were also executed by the young painter while he was still under the direct influence of Timoteo Viti. Both of these commissions reached him from the Umbrian town of Città di Castello, whose rulers, the Vitelli, were on friendly terms with the Duke of Urbino. One was a processional banner for the confraternity of the Blessed Trinity which is still preserved in the Museum of Città di Castello. It was probably painted to commemorate deliverance from the plague which ravaged this town in 1499, since S. Sebastian and S. Roch, whose protection was especially sought on these occasions, are represented at the foot of the Cross. The paintings on both sides of the banner are utterly ruined, but the design, of the *Creation of Eve*, is plainly of Ferrarese origin; while the representation of the *Trinity* bears a marked resemblance to the altar-piece of the same subject executed by

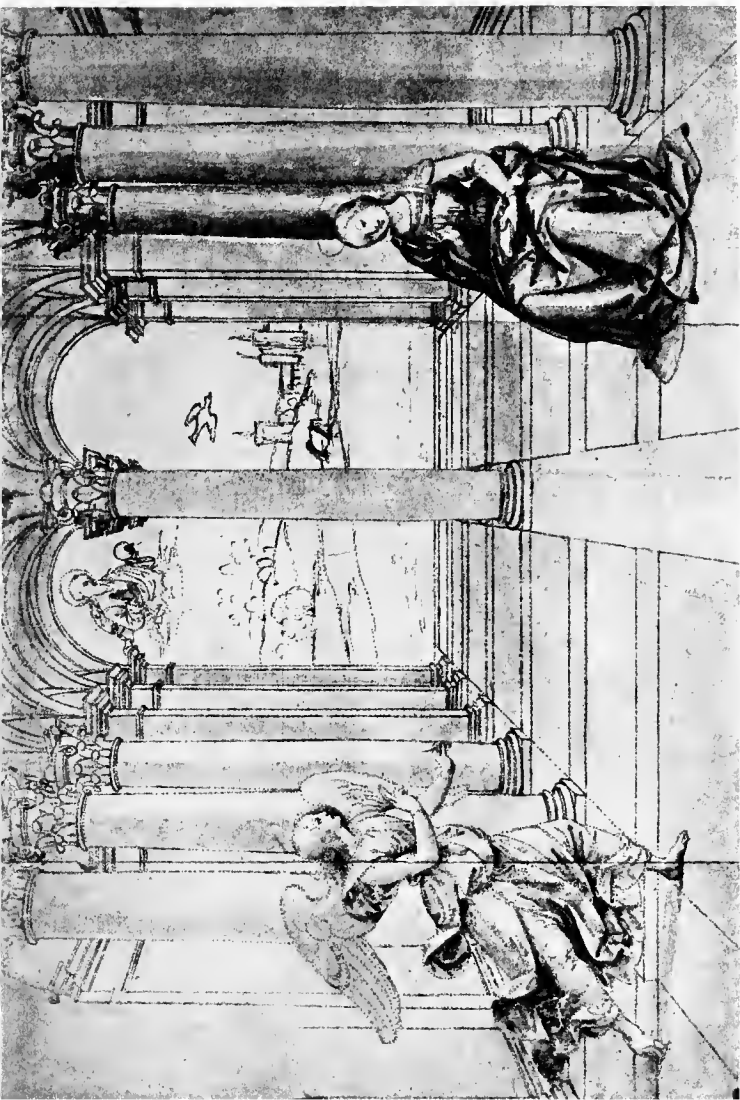
RAPHAEL

Timoteo Viti, according to Vasari, soon after his return to Urbino in 1495, and recently discovered in the church of the Cappuccini at Milan. The other was the *Coronation of S. Nicholas of Tolentino*, which young Raphael painted for the Augustinian friars, but which was sold to Pope Pius VI and perished at the time of the French invasion in 1798. Two panels of the predella originally attached to his picture are, however, still in existence: the *Legend of S. Nicholas saving four youths from execution* in Sir Frederick Cook's Collection at Richmond, and the *Miracle of the Saint raising three children to life* in the public gallery at Lisbon. Both of these little pictures are marked by the same timid drawing and delicate colour as Raphael's other youthful works, and bear the same close relation to Timoteo's style. The attitude of the executioner in the Richmond panel is the same as that of the little St. Michael in the Louvre, and the kneeling form in the background recalls that of the Princess Sabra in the *St. George*; but the types in the Lisbon picture strongly resemble those of Viti, and the foreshortened figure of the murdered youth is borrowed from one of the Apostles in a little picture of *Christ on the Mount of Olives* by the same master. The landscape, with its low green hills, church towers, and winding river, betrays the same origin, while the same mountain ash trees with their slender stems and sharply defined foliage—such as we often meet with in the hill-country of Umbria to-day—appear in both panels. Everything about these interesting little fragments seems to confirm Lanzi's statement that this altar-piece was painted by Raphael in 1500, when he was seventeen, and before he had yet thrown off the influence of his first master to imitate Perugino.



By permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement.

THREE GRACES (CHANTILLY).



By permission of Messrs. Brame, Clément

STUDY OF ANNUNCIATION (LOUVRE).

III

RAPHAEL AT PERUGIA

1500-1504

IN the summer of 1499 Raphael was still in Urbino, and appeared in the Bishop's Court as a party in a lawsuit brought by his step-mother against his uncle, the priest Bartolommeo Santi. But, in the following May, when the case was decided, his absence from Urbino is expressly mentioned by the public notary who acted "pro dicto Raffaele absente." By this time, we may conclude, he had gone to Perugia and joined the large band of assistants who were then working in Perugino's *bottega*. The great Umbrian master was well known in Urbino. Giovanni Santi speaks of him in his poem as a "divine painter," and in 1498 he had executed an altar-piece at Sinigaglia for Duke Guidobaldo's sister, Giovanna della Rovere. He was now at the height of his popularity, and had lately returned from Florence to undertake the decoration of the Hall of the Exchange in his native city. Perugino had probably been personally acquainted with Giovanni, but whether he had known the father or not, the son's talents quickly attracted his attention. Pietro, writes Vasari, was delighted with young Raphael's charming nature and skill in drawing, and pronounced that he would soon become a great painter.

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Raphael on his part felt all the fascination of the Umbrian master's art, and as in his childish days he had absorbed the grace and sincerity of Timoteo's style, so now in his young manhood he surrendered himself wholly to Perugino's influence. So closely, Vasari tells us, did he imitate Messer Pietro's manner in every particular that it was impossible to distinguish his works from those of his master. This is certainly true of the first independent altar-pieces which Raphael painted after he became Perugino's assistant, the *Crucifixion* in the Mond Collection, which was originally painted for a Dominican church at Città di Castello, and the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Vatican. The composition of the *Crucifixion* closely resembles Perugino's rendering of the same subject in S. Francesco del Monte at Perugia; the clear Umbrian sky and landscape with its wide horizons, gentle slopes, and winding stream, are all in his usual style. "Had it not been for the words 'Raphael Urbinas,' which the young painter wrote at the foot of the Cross," says Vasari, "this altar-piece would certainly have passed for Pietro's work." The figure of Christ is copied from a *Crucifixion* which Perugino painted for the Calza Brotherhood; that of St. John from his *Deposition* in the Pitti; the Virgin, Magdalene, and St. Jerome are borrowed from the well-known fresco in the refectory of the Cistercian monks in Florence. But in each instance the attitude and gesture of the figure are more natural, the expression of love and sorrow more genuine. The whole, we realize, is inspired by a deeper sincerity, a truer and finer feeling. The *Coronation* was painted in 1504, by order of a widowed lady, Maddalena degli Oddi, for a chapel in the Cathedral of Perugia, and after being carried off to Paris in 1798, was restored in 1815 to the Pope and placed in the Vatican. The upper



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MADONNA CONESTABILE (ST. PETERSBURG).

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part is borrowed from the altar-piece which Perugino had executed a year or two before for the Friars of Vallombrosa. But instead of representing single figures of saints, as his master had done in the lower part of the picture, Raphael introduces the twelve Apostles standing round the empty tomb, which is filled with blossoming flowers, and looking up at the vision of the ascending Virgin. The bright colouring and deep shadows, the cherub faces and the clouds in the evening sky are all in Perugino's manner, but the Angel playing the violin recalls Timoteo's style, and the head of St. James, with the yearning gaze in his upturned eyes, is borrowed from one of Pinturicchio's studies. Pietro's influence again predominates in the three subjects of the predella attached to this altar-piece, the *Annunciation*, *Presentation*, and *Adoration of the Magi*. In designing the two first, Raphael adapted Perugino's similar compositions in S. Maria Nuova of Fano, refining and improving them after his wont. The drawing of the *Annunciation*, still preserved in the Louvre, is one of the loveliest renderings of this familiar theme. The stately columns and tessellated pavement of the portico where the Virgin receives the heavenly messenger, who hastens towards her with swift gliding movement, recall the spacious halls of the ducal palace, and through the open colonnade we see the distant towers of Urbino. In the cartoon of the *Presentation* at Oxford, the sudden action of the child turning in alarm to his mother and the happy smile on Mary's face are characteristic touches of Raphael's invention; while in the *Adoration*, now in the Museum at Stockholm, we have a varied and animated composition with a crowd of riders and spectators, after Pinturicchio's manner.

The last-named painter, after spending some years

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in Rome, where he worked in the Sistine Chapel, and adorned the Vatican halls for Alexander VI, had lately returned to Perugia from Spello and succeeded Perugino in the office of Prior. When, in 1502, Messer Pietro returned to Florence, Raphael attached himself to this new master, who was thirty years his senior, and soon became intimate with him. Vasari indeed asserts that the young master of Urbino supplied Pinturicchio with designs for his frescoes in the Library at Siena which he was preparing at this time, and accompanied him to that city in 1504, to assist in their execution. There is absolutely no ground for this assertion, which Morelli calls the pure invention of Sieneſe municipal vanity, but there is no doubt that the two masters exercised a mutual influence on each other. Pinturicchio made use of some of Raphael's studies in his frescoes, and Raphael borrowed several of the elder master's drawings in the paintings which he executed after Perugino's departure.

The first Madonnas which the master of the *Gran Duca* and *San Sisto Virgins* ever painted belong to this period. A small pen-and-ink sketch of the Virgin holding an open book before the Child, with a landscape of lake and towers in Timoteo's style, is still preserved at Oxford and evidently belongs to 1499 or 1500. A chalk drawing of the Madonna offering the Child a pomegranate, copied from a sketch by Perugino at Berlin, is also to be seen in the Albertina. But the first paintings of the subject by Raphael's hand are the *Reading Madonna* of the Solly Collection, which was copied from a cartoon by Pinturicchio in the Louvre, and the *Virgin between St. Francis and St. Jerome*, which was also borrowed from a sketch by the same master in the Albertina. Both of these pictures must have been executed about

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Alinari

SAINT SEBASTIAN (BERGAMO).



Amersol.

PERUGINO (GALL. BORGHESI).

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1502 or 1503, and are now at Berlin. In both, the type of Mary's face, the gold embroideries of her robe, and the frizzled locks of the Child are purely Umbrian in character, and recall Pinturicchio even more than Perugino. By far the most beautiful Madonna of this period, however, is the tondo which Raphael painted about 1503 for an uncle of his favourite comrade and fellow-student at Perugia, Domenico Alfani—the Menico to whom he afterwards addressed one of his rare letters from Florence. This precious little painting passed from the Alfani to the Conestabile Staffa family and remained at Perugia until 1870, when it was sold by Count Scipione Conestabile to the late Empress of Russia for three hundred and ten thousand francs. Here Raphael has once more made use of Perugino's design of the *Virgin with the Pomegranate*, but has changed the fruit into a book and altered the attitude of the Child, who turns over the pages with innocent delight. When, a few years ago, the picture in the Hermitage was transferred from wood to canvas, the original cartoon of Raphael with the pomegranate instead of the book was found underneath the painting. But this Madonna with the tender gaze and fair hair smoothly braided on her youthful brows is holier and more divine than any of Perugino's Virgins, and in the background, besides the usual green slopes and slender trees, the painter has introduced a still lake and distant mountains white with snow. The same mystic charm marks the *St. Sebastian* at Bergamo, who, instead of being represented as a nude figure pierced with arrows, appears after the Umbrian fashion as a beautiful youth richly clad in gold-embroidered draperies, holding a dart in his hand. Here we notice that peculiar formation of the eyeball with no division between the iris and the pupil which Morelli first

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pointed out as a crucial test that may be applied to Raphael's works of this period. This peculiarity may be noted in the *Coronation* of the Vatican, the Berlin *Madonnas*, and all the works which Raphael produced under Perugino's influence. Among these is the portrait of his master, which came to Rome from Urbino with *The Graces* and *Vision of a Knight* and is now in the Borghese Gallery. After long passing for a Holbein, this interesting picture was recognized by Mündler and other modern connoisseurs as a portrait of Perugino and is described in the catalogue as being the work of the artist himself. But Perugino never painted a portrait so full of fire and animation, so intensely real and living. The keen black eyes, sharply modelled features, and flowing locks, above all the penetrating insight into the man's character, point to Raphael as the author of this fine portrait, which he probably painted during the short visit which his master paid to Perugia towards the close of 1503.

In the following year the young master of Urbino received a new commission from the Franciscans of Città di Castello, where he had already executed two important works, for a *Sposalizio* or *Marriage of the Virgin*, to adorn the high altar of their convent church. The beautiful painting which Raphael completed in 1504, and inscribed with name and date, was carried off by the French in 1798, but rescued by a Milanese official and ultimately placed in the Brera. It was first suggested by an Italian writer in the last century that in the composition of this picture Raphael had evidently imitated the *Sposalizio* executed, according to Vasari, by Perugino for a chapel in the Cathedral of Perugia, and which was also carried off by Napoleon and placed in the Museum at Caen. This suggestion was adopted by Passavant and repeated



Anderson.

GROUP FROM SPOSALIZIO (BRERA),

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by all future historians until, a few years ago, Mr. Berenson pronounced the Caen *Sposalizio*, after a careful prolonged inspection, to be not the work of Perugino, but of his follower Lo Spagna. This artist, who was Raphael's comrade in Perugino's workshop, frequently imitated his fellow-student's compositions, and a copy by his hand of the Bergamo *St. Sebastian* now belongs to an American collector at Boston. No documents regarding the execution of the Caen picture are known to be in existence, and Vasari merely mentioned it among Perugino's works in his native city. To judge from the style of the painting, it was probably executed a year or two after Raphael's *Sposalizio* and evidently imitated from this famous picture, in which, Vasari expressly remarks, Perugino's pupil for the first time excelled his master. The Urbinate's work indeed, as has often been pointed out, differs in many respects from his Umbrian models. Now that Perugino and Pinturicchio were no longer at his side, he threw off the limitations of their art and went back unconsciously to the earlier style which he had acquired from Timoteo Viti. Not only does he revert to the old types of faces and hands, the attitude and colouring of his Urbino days, but in many important details he follows the traditions of the Ferrarese masters rather than those of the Umbrian school. The actual shape of the picture, higher than it is broad, the reversal of the position of the Virgin and St. Joseph and the attitude of this saint, all closely resemble the *Sposalizio* by Costa, now in the Bologna Gallery, and are quite unlike Perugino's treatment of the subject in the predella executed at Fano in 1497. Again, Raphael has evidently taken the graceful classical temple in the background either from Piero della Francesca's architectural study at Urbino, or from one of his own kinsman Bramante's drawings.

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“In this work,” Vasari remarks, “Raphael has drawn a temple in perspective with such evident delight that it is marvellous to see the difficulties of the problem which he here seeks to solve.” The historian plainly regarded the temple as an invention of Raphael’s own and by no means copied from Perugino’s work. What he has borrowed from Messer Pietro are the sense of air and space, the wooded slopes of the distant hills, the far horizons and clear Umbrian sky, which lend the picture its atmosphere of pure and serene repose. In the youthful charm and natural grace of the figures we see how far he has excelled the teacher at whose feet he sat. The lovely maidens who wait upon the bride, the disappointed suitors breaking their barren rods, are no longer isolated figures standing idly by, gazing out of the picture. They are stirred by the same common feeling and look on with eager faces and animated gestures, intent on the scene that is passing before their eyes.

This beautiful composition, so full of youthful charm and deep human pathos, was the crowning work of Raphael’s Umbrian period. He had learnt all that Perugino had to teach him and carried Umbrian art to a level which it had never reached before. Now other voices were calling him to new fields of work and knowledge, and he might not tarry longer in these pleasant and familiar ways. When he had written “Raphael Urbinas MDIIII.” on the cornice of the Bramantesque temple in his picture, he went back to his native city and spent the summer in his old home.

Many things had happened since the day when he started on his first journey four years before. In the spring of 1502 the sudden invasion of Cæsar Borgia had spread terror throughout Romagna. When all was quiet and peaceful, this treacherous duke had

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marched up the Furlo Pass and appeared before the very gates of Urbino. Duke Guidobaldo fled for his life and the usurper seized his dominions and carried off the priceless treasures of the ducal palace, the famous library and exquisite works of art to Rome. But the death of the hated Borgian Pope, Alexander VI, in August 1503, changed the whole aspect of affairs. The usurper became a prisoner in his turn and the exiled princes returned. The Duke and Duchess were welcomed with exultant shouts by their faithful subjects, and life in Urbino resumed its old aspect. Once more scholars and courtiers, Castiglione and Bembo, Cesare Gonzaga and the Magnifico Giuliano, met in the Duchess's rooms to hold gay converse, and the sound of music and song rang through the palace halls. Once more the shout of "Feltre! Feltre!" greeted the good duke as he rode up the steep mountain-side and passed through the city gates, and old men shed tears of joy when they saw his familiar form. Raphael received a kindly welcome not only from his good friends the Duke and Duchess, but from the Lady Prefetessa Giovanna della Rovere, whose young son Francesco was publicly recognized by his uncle Guidobaldo as his heir on this occasion and received the oath of allegiance from his future subjects. This princess, who remembered Giovanni Santi as a loyal servant of her father, heard with interest of the young painter's strong desire to visit Florence, where Perugino and all the foremost masters of the day were then at work, and she graciously consented to give him the following letter to the Gonfaloniere of that city :

"To the High and Magnificent Lord and most honoured Father, Pier Soderini, Gonfaloniere of Florence. The bearer of this letter is Raphael, a painter of Urbino, who being gifted with natural

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talent for art, has decided to spend some time in Florence to pursue his studies. And since his father was a most excellent man and very dear to me, and the son is a modest and gentle youth, I am sincerely attached to him, and wish him to go on to perfection. I therefore commend him most warmly to your Highness, and beg you for my sake to give him your help and protection on every occasion, knowing that I shall hold whatever service and kindness you show him to be done to myself, and shall esteem this to be the greatest favour on the part of your Highness, to whom I now commend myself.

“GIOVANNA FELICIA FELTRIA DELLA ROVERE,
“*Duchessa di Sora, Prefetessa di Roma.*”

“Urbino, 1st October 1504.”

With this letter in his pocket, Raphael came to Florence at the age of twenty-one.

IV

RAPHAEL IN FLORENCE—THE EARLY MADONNAS

1504-1506

ALL the great Umbrian masters whom Raphael had known, either in person or by their works and reputation, had gone to Florence for their training. Piero della Francesca, who had been his father's guest and whose noble paintings were the pride of the ducal family; Luca Signorelli, who had visited Urbino a few months before Giovanni Santi's death to paint two altar-pieces for the church of San Spirito; his own master Perugino, had all in turn sought the banks of Arno to attain that proficiency in their art which could be found nowhere else. Giovanni Santi himself may very likely have accompanied Duke Federico on one of his visits to this centre of art. It is difficult to account otherwise for his intimate knowledge of the painters and sculptors whom he names in his "Chronicle," or for the discrimination with which he speaks of each individual artist "in this fair Etruscan land":

*Giovan di Fiesol frate al bene ardente.
Frate Filippo e Francesco Peselli,
Domenico chiamato il Veneziano,
Masaccio e l'Andrein, Paolo Occelli,*

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*Antonio e Pier si gran disegnatori
Pier del Borgo antico più di quelli.
Due giovin par d'etate e par d'amori,
Leonardo da Vinci e'l Perusino,
Pier della Pieve, che son divin pittori.
E'l Ghirlandaja, el giovin Filippino
Sandro da Botticello e'l Cortonese,
Luca d'ingegno e spirito pellegrino.*

After talking of the Great Venetians, Giovanni and Gentile Bellini, of Cosimo Tura and Melozzo, his own dear friend, the poet takes up the praises of the Florentine sculptors, the great Donatello, skilled in stone and bronze work, "il vago Desider si dolce e bello," and "Andrea di Verrocchio, that clear fount of humanity and inborn gentleness, who forms as it were a bridge between the arts of painting and sculpture." Several of these artists, whose names had been familiar to Raphael from his childhood, were still living when he came to Florence in the autumn of 1504. Sandro Botticelli, Perugino, and Leonardo da Vinci had all been present among the brilliant company of artists who met a few months before to choose a site for Michelangelo's *David*. Another painter who had been present on that memorable occasion, Filippino, had died in April of a sudden attack of *angina pectoris*. Ghirlandajo had been struck down by the plague ten years before; Andrea del Verrocchio had died in Venice while he was still at work on Colleoni's equestrian statue; the Pollaiuoli brothers were gone to Rome, where they spent their last years in the service of the Popes. But the works which these masters had left behind them were to be seen in the churches and palaces, the convents and public squares of Florence. "The city and the works which it contained," writes Vasari, "both

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seemed to him divine, and he determined to fix his abode here for some time, and made friends with several young painters by whom he was greatly beloved." The wonders of Florentine art were a revelation to the young stranger from Urbino. He lingered in the dim chapel of the Carmine, studying the old frescoes of Masaccio, "le cose vecchie di Masaccio," and stood lost in wonder before Donatello's *St. George* on the walls of Or San Michele and his marble pulpit in Santa Croce. He saw the giant *David* which had lately been set up on the steps of the Palazzo Pubblico, and watched the progress of the famous cartoons which Michelangelo and Leonardo were preparing for the decoration of the Great Council Hall. And as he walked the streets of Florence, taking note of each separate object in this new and wonderful world, he realized the deficiencies of his own training and the shortcomings of Umbrian art, and began to understand why Michelangelo had pronounced Perugino "*goffo nel arte.*"

In his mountain home of Urbino, the radiant hues of sky and landscape, the exquisite changes of sunrise and sunset, the beauty of pure line and natural grace had sunk deep into his soul. "Raphael," writes Vasari, "had been endowed by Nature with the art of painting the sweetest and most gracious faces—*teste dolcissime e graziosissime.*" Later on, in the busy workshop at Perugia, he had learnt how to render lovely form and spiritual charm, the sense of mystic calm and heavenly repose. But he had never turned his attention to the study of the human body or sought after that mastery of action and movement to which successive generations of Florentine artists had attained by long and persevering efforts. Now for the first time he realized this new ideal that was held up before his eyes and applied himself with

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characteristic patience and resolution to acquire the knowledge in which he was lacking. In the words of Vasari: "From having been a master he once more became a scholar. He gave himself up to the study of the nude, of the movement and foreshortening of limbs, the connexion of nerves and muscles, with such unwearied industry that in a few months he mastered what others take years to learn, and became perfect in all the knowledge which is required of an excellent painter." The drawings by Raphael's hand which may be seen in the Uffizi or Albertina, at Oxford or Windsor, show how attentively in these early Florentine days he studied the works of Donatello and Pollaiuolo; how deeply the passionate and dramatic motives of the great sculptor's work interested him, and how ardently he strove to imitate the consummate draughtsmanship of the artist whom his father had praised and whom Lorenzo dei Medici had called the greatest master in the city. Dr. Gronau has pointed out how a little group in the background of Pollaiuolo's great altar-piece of *St. Sebastian* in the Pucci Chapel of the Annunziata, which most people would hardly have noticed, supplied Raphael with the motive of his study of *Four Riders and a Foot-soldier* in the Uffizi, and how his superb drawing of *Hercules and the Centaurs* in the same gallery was evidently inspired by Antonio's wonderful little painting of *Hercules*. From the first he was profoundly impressed by Michelangelo's works. He copied the giant *David* and the head of the roughly hewn *St. Matthew* which had been ordered by the Operai of the Duomo, and found inspiration for many of his future Madonnas in the *Holy Family* which the great sculptor painted for Angiolo Doni, and the tondi of the *Mother and Child* which he carved for Taddeo Gaddi and Bartolommeo Pitti. But he was still more powerfully attracted



Bregi.

ANGIOLO DONI (PITTI)



Brog.

MADDALENA DONI (PITTI).

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by the science and charm of Leonardo's art. The unfinished *Adoration of the Magi* which the Florentine master had designed before he left Florence to go to Milan, and the cartoon of the *Virgin and St. Anne* which he had lately executed for the Servi friars and which had stirred up the enthusiasm of the whole city, filled him with wonder. "He stood speechless with admiration," Vasari tells us, "before the grace of these heads and figures, and thought him greater than all other masters; indeed ~~Leonardo's style pleased him better than any that he had ever seen,~~ and leaving Piero's manner he sought with infinite pains to imitate that of Leonardo." Raphael's lovely pen-and-ink drawing of *Mona Lisa* in the Louvre, and the splendid groups of fighting horsemen at Oxford and Venice, which he copied from Leonardo's unfinished *Battle of the Standard*, prove the truth of Vasari's words. His very method of drawing underwent a marked alteration, and he gave up the style which he had learnt in Perugino's workshop to adopt the Florentine master's manner. Giovanna della Rovere's letter does not seem to have brought the young painter any commission from the Gonfaloniere, who could hardly be expected to employ a strange and untried youth when Leonardo and Michelangelo were already in his service, and a host of other good artists were awaiting his commands. But the recommendations of his master Perugino and of his Urbino patrons, above all his own charming and attractive personality, brought him many friends, and he became a general favourite with the young painters who worked together in the Brancacci chapel, or spent the evenings discussing problems in the architect Baccio d'Agnolo's shop, a common centre of artistic society. Chief among Raphael's friends in these days were Sebastian Sangallo, a young architect and painter well

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known in Florence as an ardent follower of Michelangelo and nicknamed Aristotile for his wise and witty sayings, and Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, the son of the distinguished painter of Lorenzo dei Medici's time, who belonged to the rival camp and was a great admirer of Leonardo. Vasari mentions yet another painter with whom Raphael formed a still closer friendship—"una stretta amicizia"—the Dominican artist, Fra Bartolommeo, who had lately taken up his brush again and gladly shared all that he knew with this youth who was so eager to learn the secrets of modelling and colouring.

One of the first commissions which Raphael received in Florence was from Angiolo Doni, the wealthy merchant who haggled with Michelangelo over the price of his *Holy Family* and always contrived to get good work as cheaply as possible. At his request the young master painted the portraits of Doni and his wife, Maddalena Strozzi, which are now in the Pitti Gallery. Both are living types of Florentine patricians: the prosperous merchant in black suit and red sleeves, with his keen eye and anxious look; his wife, with her dull, placid face and rich brocades, and the jewels on her neck and hands. And both are painted with a care and precision worthy of Ghirlandajo, with whose portraits Raphael was no doubt by this time familiar. At the same time another model was in his mind, as we see from the pen-and-ink sketch in the Louvre, which was plainly suggested by Leonardo's portrait of *Mona Lisa*. The folded hands and wavy hair, the very shape and cut of the bodice, are all copied from this immortal work, only instead of Leonardo's landscape of rocks, the young Urbinate has introduced a glimpse of tower and hills seen between the columns of an open loggia.

Since no large altar-pieces or other important tasks



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STUDY FOR MADDALENA DONI (LOUVRE).

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seemed likely to fall to his share, Raphael painted a series of small panels for private owners during the first year which he spent in Florence. The earliest and most beautiful of these was the *Madonna del Gran Duca*, which the Grand Duke Ferdinand III bought in 1799 from a poor Tuscan widow in whose house it was discovered, and which he took with him wherever he went. The germ of this composition is to be found in a silver-point drawing in the Malcolm Collection, which was probably executed by Timoteo Viti, but which is still ascribed to Raphael by some critics, while the pen-and-ink sketch of the group by his own hand may be seen in the Uffizi. The great charm of the picture lies in the simplicity of the design and in the perfect rhythm of the composition, in the deep content of the Child and the serene purity of the Virgin's face. Closely connected with this group are the much injured *Casa Tempi Madonna* at Munich with the Mother clasping her Child in a tender embrace; and the little Madonna at Panshanger, which remained at Urbino until the close of the eighteenth century, when it was bought by Lord Cowper, who was then minister at Florence. This youthful Virgin, with the smile on her lips and the Child clinging to her neck, is seen resting on a grassy slope, and in the background we recognize a landscape dear to every Florentine, the hill of San Miniato with the dome and campanile of Cronaca's newly built church, that "*bella villanella*" which Michelangelo loved. The original sketch of this little picture, which Morelli called the loveliest of all Raphael's Madonnas, is still preserved in the Uffizi. The same strong and joyous Child, the same gentle Mother meet us in the *Orleans Madonna*, which once belonged to the brother of Louis XIV, and after many journeyings is now once more at Chantilly. But here the

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Virgin is seated in her cottage home, and the red curtain and flask and jars on the shelf are quite in Ghirlandajo's style, and his Mother's profile recalls Michelangelo's sculptured *tondi*, while the animated movement of the Child seems to point to a somewhat later period. Two little pictures of the Madonna with Christ in her arms, on wood, by Raphael, are mentioned in a seventeenth-century inventory of the Urbino gallery, and the Panshanger Virgin was found by Lord Cowper in a house at Urbino, so that either of these may have been painted for Guidobaldo or his sister the Prefetessa, for whom Raphael executed a work about this time. But whether they were destined for his old friends at Urbino, or for his new patrons, these Madonnas reveal the profit which Raphael had already reaped from his Florentine studies. His newly acquired knowledge of structural design and modelling had enabled his own personality to find fuller and freer expression, and to realize a vision of ideal beauty and human tenderness to which few other masters ever attained.

The second group of Madonnas which Raphael painted at this period were all executed for Umbrian patrons. While in Florence he was still comparatively unknown, in Perugia his reputation stood high, and when the nuns of Monte Luce, a convent of Poor Clares, consulted the magistrates as to the choice of an artist to paint an Assumption for their high altar, they were advised to employ "Maestro Raffaello da Urbino, the best painter of the day." But although Raphael signed a contract agreeing to paint this altar-piece in December 1505, and received thirty gold crowns in advance, he never did more than prepare a preliminary sketch, and after waiting patiently for twelve years the poor nuns consented to allow two of the great master's pupils to execute their picture. The nuns of St. Anthony of Padua

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in Perugia were more fortunate. For them Raphael painted the fine altar-piece known as the *Madonna di Sant' Antonio*, acquired by the late Mr. Pierpont Morgan. Both this picture and the *Madonna and Saints* which the master painted for the Chapel of the Ansidei in the Church of San Fiorenzo were probably begun during the visit which Raphael paid to Perugia at the close of 1505, and completed with the help of assistants in 1507 or 1508. The *Ansidei Madonna*, as is well known, came to Blenheim in the eighteenth century, and was bought for the National Gallery twenty years ago. The two pictures were easily compared together when they hung side by side in Trafalgar Square. In both compositions the Virgin is enthroned under a lofty canopy after the usual Umbrian fashion, and the same gold-embroidered mantle falls in broad folds to her feet. But in the details of their execution, the simple grace of the Virgin and innocent charm of the children, in the venerable form of St. Nicholas of Bari in the one picture, and in the imposing but hardly successful figures of St. Peter and St. Paul in the other, we see the influence of Raphael's Florentine studies, and the wish to emulate Leonardo and Fra Bartolommeo. The scattered fragments of the predellas belonging to these altar-pieces were probably chiefly the work of assistants and have all suffered much from restoration, but the *Christ on the Mount of Olives* retains some trace of the master's hand in the green hills and feathery trees of the landscape.

It is curious to see how in these pictures painted for Umbrian churches Raphael returns to Umbrian motives. The original pen-and-ink sketch for the *Ansidei Virgin* is taken from a drawing by Pinturicchio for a picture at Spello, and a cartoon by Perugino

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at Berlin supplied him with the subject of another Madonna which he executed soon after this. This is the circular panel known as the *Terranuova Madonna*, from the ducal family to which it belonged, until it was bought by King Frederick William IV of Prussia. Here the Child showing St. John a scroll bearing the words "Agnus Dei" is copied from Perugino's drawing, but the design and landscape strongly recall Florentine models. This is still more the case with the fresco of the *Trinity* in the Carmelite convent of San Severo, which bears the date of 1505, and must have been painted before Raphael left Perugia in the following spring. Unfortunately this fresco has been irreparably ruined, and the grandeur of the conception is all that remains to us of Raphael's work. The figure of Christ throned upon the clouds between two rows of majestic saints seated in a semi-circle on either side is borrowed from the unfinished *Last Judgment* which Fra Bartolommeo painted in the hospital of St. Maria Nuova after Savonarola's death, and shows how profoundly he had been impressed by the friar's conception. Raphael, however, only finished the upper part of his fresco, and after his death the Carmelite fathers employed Perugino to complete the work of the gifted scholar whom it was his lot to survive.

According to an old and well-authenticated tradition recorded by Vasari and Passavant, Raphael paid a visit to Urbino before his return to Florence in the autumn of 1506. Here Vasari tells us he painted several pictures for Duke Guidobaldo, amongst others two small Madonnas of great beauty, in his second or Florentine style, and a Christ on the Mount of Olives, which was remarkable for its miniature-like finish. But the only pictures now in existence which we know to have been executed for the Duke of Urbino are two



Emery Walker.

STUDY OF MADONNA BY TIMOTEO VITI (BRITISH MUSEUM).



Andersson.

MADONNA FROM SPOSALIZIO (BRERA).



By permission of Messrs. Franch, Clement.

MADONNA D'ORLEANS (CHANTILLY).



SAINT GEORGE (LOUVRE)

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versions of *St. George and the Dragon*. In June 1504 Guidobaldo received the insignia of the Garter from King Henry VII, and wore the blue mantle and riband of the Order on the following St. George's Feast at Urbino. The Garter figures repeatedly among the devices carved on the friezes of the ducal palace, and Giovanni Santi translated its famous motto into quaint Italian verse, so it was not to be wondered that his son was desired to paint a picture of the patron Saint of England. The first version of the subject is the little *St. George* of the Louvre, which must originally have been intended as a companion to the *St. Michael* painted by Raphael in his boyhood at Urbino. A pen-and-ink drawing of this picture, in the painter's Peruginesque style, is now in the Uffizi, and from the likeness of the rearing horse to one of Pollaiuolo's work is ascribed by Dr. Gronau to Raphael's first year in Florence. But whether this first *St. George* belongs to the year 1505 or to an earlier date, the second picture is clearly connected with the mission sent to England by the Duke on this occasion. Castiglione was selected for this embassy, and set out in September 1506, taking with him many costly gifts, among which were three horses of the quiet Mantuan breed and a picture of *St. George* by Raphaël. After the sale of the Whitehall pictures by the Parliament, after King Charles I's execution, this picture returned to Italy, and was eventually bought by the Empress Catherine II of Russia. The fine drawing of this *St. George* in the Uffizi shows a marked advance on the former version, and is an evident replica of Donatello's bas-relief at Or San Michele. The position of horse and rider is reversed, and the impetuous action of the warrior charging full tilt at the dragon under his feet is full of fire and animation. The warrior Saint wears the Garter with the word *Honi*

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on his knee, and the name "Raphaello U." is written on the blue and gold trappings of his charger.

The portraits of the Duke and Duchess of Castiglione which Raphael painted, and the chalk drawing of Bembo which Michieli saw in the Cardinal's house at Padua, have all vanished, and the only portraits of this period which are still in existence are one of Raphael himself in the Uffizi and another of an unknown youth in the gallery of Budapest. This last has been entirely repainted, but is evidently by the master's hand, and probably represents one of his fellow-students at Urbino or Perugia, perhaps his beloved Menico or the goldsmith Cesarino di Rosetti. The portrait of Raphael himself came to Rome from Urbino in 1588, and is too well known to need description. The beautiful and refined face with the large brown eyes and wistful expression all agree with contemporary descriptions of the wonderful youth who was *la gentilezza stessa*, the best painter in the land, as everyone in Umbria knows, and yet, in Duchess Giovanna's words, always modest and charming, jealous of none, kindly and gracious to all, ever ready to leave his own work to help another, lending his cartoons freely to less gifted comrades, and encouraging young artists with his praise, a favourite alike with the brilliant courtiers and ladies of Urbino, and with the many students who met in Baccio d'Agnolo's shop in Florence.



Il censurati.

PORTRAIT OF A YOUTH (BUDA PESTH).

V

RAPHAEL IN FLORENCE—THE
MADONNAS, AND ENTOMBMENT

1506-1508

IF Raphael was still at Urbino in September 1506, he must have seen Pope Julius II when he visited the ducal court on his way to the conquest of Bologna, and witnessed the festivities in honour of this warlike Pontiff. But before long he was back in Florence, where, in Vasari's words, "he once more devoted himself with incredible ardour to the study of art." Much had happened during his absence, and he found many changes in artistic circles. Michelangelo had been summoned to Rome, to execute a sumptuous monument for Pope Julius II; and Leonardo had given up his work in disgust, after painting one group of his great design in colour on the palace wall, and had gone to serve the French king at Milan. The absence of these two masters probably had the effect of leading Raphael to rely more on the help and example of his friend Fra Bartolommeo, who, now that Michelangelo and Leonardo were gone, was the foremost artist in Florence. The influence of the Dominican painter is certainly strongly marked in the group of Madonnas which he executed that autumn. Chief among the friends whom he had made in Florence was the cultivated

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merchant Taddeo Taddei, who lived in a house of the Via dei Ginori, built by Baccio d'Agnolo, and gave Michelangelo one of his first commissions for a carved bas-relief. Whether he heard of Raphael from his friend Pietro Bembo, or met him first at Baccio d'Agnolo's house, Taddeo soon became deeply attached to the young painter of Urbino, who was a constant guest in his house and at his table, and who wrote home to his uncle Simone that he owed more to this Florentine citizen than to any other man living. "And in order not to be outdone in courtesy," writes Vasari, "Raphael, who was the most charming of men, painted two pictures for him, which are still to be seen in the house of the said Taddeo's heirs." One of these, the *Madonna del Prato*, was sold by Taddeo's descendants to the art-loving Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, after whose death it passed into the collection of the Imperial House at Vienna. The same group of three figures, the Virgin with the Child Christ and St. John, is repeated in a different form in the *Madonna del Cardellino*, which Raphael painted before the end of 1506 as a wedding present for another of his Florentine friends, Lorenzo Nasi, who afterwards held the office of Prior. Here the Virgin holds an open book in her hand, and the Baptist, instead of offering Christ a cross of reeds, places a goldfinch in his hand. This picture, which the owner held in the "greatest veneration," Vasari writes, "both on account of its rare excellence and for the sake of Raphael, whom he counted as his dearest friend," was shattered to pieces by an earthquake in 1548. But Lorenzo's son Battista succeeded in having the precious panel repaired, and his picture is still one of the chief ornaments of the Uffizi. The third Madonna in which this favourite grouping is seen, *La Belle Jardinière* of the Louvre, was painted early in 1507



Uffizi

RAPHAEL (UFFIZI).



Alinari.

MADONNA DEL CARDELLINO (UFFIZI).



LA BELLE JARDINIÈRE (LOUVRE).

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for a Sieneſe gentleman, Filippo Sergardi, who ſold it to King Francis I. In this picture, St. John, holding the croſs in his hand, kneels reverently at the feet of the Child, whoſe face is turned in earneſt queſtioning to his Mother, one of the faireſt and gentleſt of all Raphael's Virgins.

The triangular ſcheme of theſe three paintings was probably ſuggeſted by Leonardo's cartoons for the *Virgin of the Rocks* and *St. Anne*, an idea which was ſtill further developed by Fra Bartolommeo in more than one ſubject. Raphael here adapts the deſigns with admirable felicity to his compoſition, and rings the changes on the theme with his uſual ſkill and wealth of fancy. The innocent charm of the children, their free and natural movement, ſhow the perfection which he had acquired by long and careful ſtudy; and the flowers and graſſes of the foreground are painted with loving truth and obſervation. The landſcape is ſingularly rich and varied, and in the *Madonna del Cardellino* we have a picturesque view of Val d'Arno, an arched bridge ſpanning a mountain torrent on the one ſide, and on the other a diſtant proſpect of the Duomo and Campanile of Florence. A drawing for this Madonna may be ſeen at Oxford, and countless ſheets covered with ſketches of mothers and children in every attitude are preſerved in the Albertina and the Louvre. The Uffizi contains another lovely cartoon of a youthful Virgin with the Child and St. John, which forms the ſubject of a little painting in the Eſterhazy Gallery at Budapeſt that was left unfinished by Raphael and completed by inferior hands.

The little *Madonna dell' Agnello* at Madrid, bearing the date 1507, is another picture of ſingular charm. The motive of the Child riding on the back of a lamb is directly derived from the cartoon executed by

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Leonardo for the Servi, but instead of St. Anne, a venerable figure of St. Joseph is introduced, resting on his stick and looking down at the infant Christ. This figure connects the Prado picture with the larger *Holy Family* at Munich, originally executed for the family of Lorenzo Nasi's bride, Sandra Canigiani. Here not only St. Joseph but St. Elizabeth and St. John are introduced, and the painter has once more adopted Fra Bartolommeo's favourite pyramidal scheme. Unfortunately the picture has suffered so much from injudicious restoration that little beyond the design is left of Raphael's work, although, as in the Madrid Virgin, the words "Raphael Urbinas" are inscribed on the hem of the Virgin's bodice. In the other Madonnas which were painted during Raphael's last year in Florence, such as the *Nicolin Virgin* at Panshanger and the *Colonna* panel at Berlin the hand of assistants is clearly seen, while the alta piece of the *Madonna del Baldacchino*, in the Pitti, was ordered by the Dei family for their chapel in San Spirito and left unfinished in Raphael's studio at the time of his death. The saints on either side of the Virgin's throne in this composition bear a strong likeness to Fra Bartolommeo's figures, and the same resemblance may be traced in the *St. Catherine* of the National Gallery, which must have been painted about the same time. It is also interesting to note that at this period most of Raphael's studies are executed in black chalk, a practice which he seems to have borrowed from his Dominican friend.

The facility of his invention and the amiability of his nature led many of his old fellow-students to seek his help when they needed designs for new pictures. This probably accounts for the existence of many *Holy Families* in which we recognize Raphael's skilful composition and tender feeling, but fail to

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see any trace of his hand. Such, for instance, is the *Vierge au Palmier* at Bridgewater House, formerly in the Orleans Gallery, and *Virgin with the beardless St. Joseph* at St. Petersburg, in both of which the drawing is too weak and the quality too inferior to be the master's own work. The Museum at Lille contains a cartoon of a *Holy Family*, carefully drawn and shaded, which he sent from Florence to his old friend Domenico Alfani, with the following note on the back of the paper: "Do not forget, Menico, to send me the songs ('*Strambotti*') of Ricciardo, about the storm which overtook him on his journey. Remind Cesarino" (the clever goldsmith Cesare di Rosetti) "to send me the sermon I want, and commend me to him. And remember to ask Madonna Atalanta to send me the promised money and see that it is in gold, and tell Cesarino also to remind her to do this. And if I can do anything more for you, let me know." This last request evidently refers to the commission which he had received at Perugia in 1506 from Atalanta Baglioni for an altar-piece of the *Entombment* to adorn a chapel in the cathedral which she had endowed in memory of her murdered son Grifone.

After his return to Florence, most of his time and thought were devoted to the composition of this work, that was in some respects the most important which he had yet executed. Raphael's distrust of his own powers and his anxiety to produce a painting worthy of the occasion are seen in the innumerable studies of the subject which are still to be found in the different galleries of Europe. First of all he took his master Perugino's touching *Pietà* in the convent of Santa Chiara at Florence for his model, as we see from the series of studies at Oxford and Paris, in which the dead Christ is represented lying in his Mother's arms, surrounded by sorrowing disciples. Separate studies

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of the mourning women and of the Magdalen kneeling at the feet of St. John and fixing her sad eyes on her master's lifeless form, very noble and pathetic in their reserve, are in the Albertina and in other private collections. Then a sudden change came over the painter's thoughts, and abandoning his first intention, he adopted the scheme of Mantegna's famous engraving, and represented the body of Christ borne up the steps to the tomb hewn in the rock, while the Magdalen bends tenderly over her dead Lord and supports his arm. A series of seven studies illustrates the progress of the painter's thoughts in this direction. A drawing of the central group is in the Uffizi, while in the British Museum we have a separate study of one of the Marys kneeling on the ground and turning round to support the fainting Mother—a figure evidently copied from Michelangelo's Virgin in the *Doni tondo*.

Finally, Raphael adopted Mantegna's design in the main, altering some types and modifying others to suit his gentle soul. He left out the solitary St. John standing apart with clasped hands in the agony of his despair, and placed the beloved disciple among the bearers and the Magdalen bending over her Lord. And he introduced the fainting Virgin on the right, connecting the two groups by the action of one of the women, who looks round while in the act of supporting Mary in her arms.

Unfortunately the combination of these separate motives did not produce a harmonious effect, and the result of all these laborious efforts, it must be confessed, leaves us cold. The correctness of the drawing, the variety of attitude and expression, the skill with which the figures are grouped are all undeniable. Raphael's *Entombment*, we feel, is a triumph of academic art, but it lacks the spontaneous charm, the natural

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grace and beauty of his earlier work. His Florentine contemporaries, however, accustomed as they were to set store on clever draughtsmanship and skilful composition, hailed it with a burst of applause, and Vasari grew ecstatic in his praise of this "divinest of pictures, in which the highest diligence, love, art, and grace are combined, and which fills all who see it with wonder at its extraordinary perfection." The people of Perugia raised an indignant protest when this altar-piece, which they counted as the greatest treasure of their city, was presented to Cardinal Scipio Borghese, afterwards Pope Paul V, by the Franciscan friars, and secretly conveyed by night to Rome. The predella of the *Entombment*, now in the Vatican Gallery, consists of three tondi in chiaroscuro, representing the three Christian Graces, each attended by two winged boys. Faith bears the chalice of the Host aloft, Hope is a figure with clasped hands and upturned eyes, and Charity folds three children in her embrace, while two others cling to her side. A fine sketch of this last-named subject is to be seen in the Albertina on the back of a study for the *Entombment*. Here, again, Michelangelo's influence predominates, but Raphael, we feel, is more at home in these Madonna-like forms which have all the repose and beauty that are lacking in his larger and more laboured compositions.

While he was still at work on Atalanta Baglioni's altar-piece at Perugia, in October 1507, the painter was summoned to appear before a tribunal at Urbino. He had lately bought a house from the Cervasi family for one hundred crowns, and was now required to pay the money to the Duke's treasurer, on behalf of his creditors, who were unable to meet their liabilities towards the State. On this occasion Raphael renewed his intercourse with the ducal family, and especially

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with Giovanna della Rovere and her son the young Francesco, who was soon to succeed his uncle. Guidobaldo was already suffering from the wasting disease which soon ended his life, and on the 11th of April he died, at Fossombrone in the valley of the Metauro, where he had been removed in a litter to escape the cold of the mountain regions of Urbino. The news of this sad event was promptly sent to his nephew in Florence by Simone Ciarla, and on the 21st of April Raphael replied in the following letter :

“ To my dearest uncle, SIMONE DE BATISTA
DE CIARLA DA URBINO.

“ Dear to me as a father, I have received your letter telling me of the death of our most illustrious Lord Duke. May God have mercy upon his soul ! Indeed I could not read your letter without tears. But he is gone and there is no more to be said ; we must have patience and bow to the will of God. I wrote the other day to my uncle the priest [Bartolommeo Santi], asking him to send me the little table on which the picture of the Lady Prefetessa is painted, but he has not yet sent it. I beg you therefore to let him know if anyone is coming here, that I may satisfy Madonna’s wish, for I may shortly need her help. I also beg you, my dearest uncle, to tell the priest and Santa [his aunt] that if Taddeo Taddei, the Florentine, of whom we have often spoken, should come to Urbino, they must spare no pains to do him honour, and I pray you also, for love of me, to show him all possible attention, for indeed I owe him more than any man living. As for the picture you name, I have not yet fixed the price, and would not, even if I could, do so, as it will be better for me to have it valued. So I could not write to you what I did not know myself and even now cannot say for certain.

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All I can tell you is that the patron who has ordered this picture says that he will give me orders for three hundred gold crowns' worth of pictures, here and in France. When the feast-days are over, perhaps I shall be able to tell you how high the picture is valued, as I have already finished the cartoon, and after Easter we shall attack the picture. I should, if possible, very much like to obtain a letter of recommendation from the Lord Prefect for the Gonfaloniere of Florence. A few days ago I wrote to my uncle and to Giacomo da Roma begging them to procure this for me, as it would be very useful to me, on account of some work in a room which his Highness can give to whom he pleases. I beg of you to ask this, for I believe that if the Lord Prefect hears it is for me, he will consent, and I commend myself many times to him as his old servant and friend. Commend me also to Maestro . . . and to Ridolfo [his cousin], and all the others.

“YOUR RAPHAEL,

Painter in Florence.”

When this letter reached Urbino, the young Duke was fully occupied in paying funeral honours to his uncle and securing the recognition of his own title by his new subjects. But Simone no doubt laid Raphael's petition before him at the earliest opportunity, and Francesco probably thought it easier to recommend the painter to his uncle, Pope Julius II, than to apply to the Gonfaloniere on his behalf. A few weeks later the young Duke paid a visit to Rome, where his suggestion met with powerful support from Bramante of Casteldurante, the Urbino architect who was rebuilding the basilica of St. Peter's, and who, according to Vasari, strongly recommended his young kinsman to the Pope's notice. But whether Raphael's name was first brought before his Holiness

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by these influential friends, or whether Julius II remembered the young painter whom he had seen at Urbino, we know that a summons to Rome reached him within the next few weeks.

The call came at a critical moment in the young master's career. He had learnt all that Florence could teach him, and the separate currents of Ferrarese, of Umbrian, and of Tuscan painting were blended together in his art. In scientific knowledge and technical completeness, in the lifelike representation of human movement and emotion, he had already surpassed his first teachers and stood on a level with the foremost masters of the day. For a moment, indeed, at the close of this Florentine period, it seemed as if—like Sandro Botticelli in Pollaiuolo's workshop—he was in danger of losing his own individuality in the earnestness of his endeavour after a wider knowledge and higher excellence. From that peril he was saved by this call to another sphere, where he had to put forth his own creative powers on a new and grander scale. Gladly he obeyed the summons, and went to Rome at the bidding of the great Pontiff, who had already secured the services of Bramante and Michelangelo, and now sent for Raphael to paint the halls of the Vatican.

VI

RAPHAEL IN ROME—THE VATICAN STANZE

1508—1514

RAPHAEL came to Rome in the summer of 1508. The date is shown by a passage of the Report of Ancient Monuments which he drew up for Pope Leo X in the early spring of 1520, in which he says that he has not yet spent twelve years in the Eternal City. It is further confirmed by a letter which he wrote from Rome in September 1508 to his former master Timoteo Viti's old friend and teacher, Francesco Francia, at Bologna. This letter was discovered by Malvasia among the Lambertini papers in that city towards the close of the seventeenth century, and, although published by this historian in a modernized form, is probably genuine. We learn from Vasari that Raphael exchanged letters and portraits with Francia, who painted several pictures for Guidobaldo I, and may have visited Urbino himself, while the papal Datary, Baldassare Turini, to whom he refers in this letter, had lately accompanied the Pope to Bologna. The sorrows to which Raphael alludes with so much sympathy, the expulsion of Francia's patron Giovanni Bentivoglio, and the destruction of the palace which he had adorned with frescoes, were still fresh in the Bolognese

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artist's mind, and the *Judith* here mentioned was one of the works which had perished in the flames.

“DEAR MESSER FRANCESCO,—I have just received your portrait, which Bazzotto brought me in good condition, without any damage, and for which I thank you exceedingly. It is very fine, and so lifelike that at times it deceives me and I seem to be with you and hear your words. I beg you to have compassion and forgive my delay in sending you my own. Grave and incessant labours have prevented me from drawing this with my own hand, according to our agreement, and I felt it would not be seemly to let one of my assistants draw it and only touch it up myself, although I might have done this, since I cannot hope to equal your work. Forgive me, I pray, since you have formerly known what it was to be deprived of liberty and depend on masters who afterwards . . . Meanwhile, by the hand of this bearer, who is returning in six days' time, I send you another drawing, one of the *Nativity* (*Presepio*), which, as you will see, differs considerably from the work of which you were kind enough to speak as warmly as you have always done of my other things, so much so that I felt myself blushing, as I do now in offering you this trifle, which you must accept more in token of my obedience and love than for any other reason. If in exchange I may receive a drawing of your *Judith*, I shall place it among my dearest and most precious treasures. Monsignore il Datario is anxiously expecting his little *Madonna*, and Cardinal Riario his large one, as you will hear more fully from Bazzotto. And I shall look at them with the same delight and satisfaction which I feel in contemplating all your Virgins, never having seen any by other hands that are more beautiful and devout or better painted. Be of good



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SAVONAROLA (VATICAN STANZE).

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courage, act with your usual prudence, and believe that I feel your sorrows as if they were my own. Continue to love me as I love you, with all my heart! From Rome, the 5th day of September, 1508."

In this letter Raphael speaks of himself as being in the service of a patron, who keeps him continually employed in important labours. This patron was Pope Julius II, who, in November 1507, had left the Borgia Apartments, where he had spent the first years of his reign, declaring that he would not be plagued any longer with recollections of Alexander VI, and had taken up his residence in the rooms built by Pope Nicholas V on the upper story, looking out on the Belvedere Court. One small room which was used by Pope Nicholas as his study, and is now known as the chapel of Pope Nicholas, had been already decorated with frescoes by Fra Angelico. Now Julius II, anxious to see his living-rooms adorned in a similar manner, summoned the best masters whom he could obtain from all parts of Italy, to paint these halls on a scale corresponding with the grandeur of his ideas. The Umbrians, Perugino, Pinturicchio, and Luca Signorelli; the Lombards, Sodoma, Bramante; the Siense, Baldassare, Peruzzi, and the Venetian, Lorenzo Lotto, were all engaged on different parts of the palace in the course of that autumn and winter. While Perugino was painting the ceiling of the Stanza dell' Incendio, and Peruzzi was employed in the Stanza d'Eliodoro, Giovanni Bazzi, surnamed Sodoma, the most gifted of Leonardo's pupils, became Raphael's assistant in the decoration of the Camera della Segnatura.

This hall, which became known by the name of the Camera della Segnatura because it was there that official documents received the papal seal, was origi-

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nally, as Dr. Wickhoff has shown, intended to hold the Pope's private library. It was, there can be little doubt, the library in the upper story of the papal palace which Albertini describes as richly decorated by Julius II, and to which Bembo refers in a letter of 1513 as sumptuously adorned with paintings and marble friezes, and containing more valuable books than the larger Vatican library on the ground floor. This accounts for the number and variety of volumes which are represented both in the allegorical and historical subjects of Raphael's frescoes in the hands of the philosophers and fathers, of the scholars and poets on the walls, of the angels and genii on the ceiling, of Justinian and Pope Gregory. And it also explains the scheme of decoration which Raphael adopted on this occasion. The four figures of Theology, Philosophy, Law, and Poetry, which he painted in four large medallions on the ceiling of the room, correspond with the divisions in the plan drawn up by Pope Nicholas V, before his accession to the papal throne, for the arrangement of the library of San Marco in Florence. That plan had been adopted by Duke Federico in his famous library at Urbino, and Giovanni Santi describes the figures of theologians, philosophers, lawyers, and poets which were pictured on the walls of this spacious hall. These four branches of human learning were now represented by the painter of Urbino on the ceiling of the Pope's library, in the form of fair women throned on the clouds and attended by winged genii bearing appropriate mottoes on their tablets. Theology is robed in the three colours of the Christian grace, red, white, and green, and wears a wreath of oak leaves, the badge of the Pope's family; Philosophy is a classical figure clad in antique costume and seated in a marble chair; Jurisprudence carries the sword and scales; and Poetry, the noblest of all,

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crowned with laurel and robed in blue, holds a book and lyre in her hands, and lifts her inspired face to Heaven, while a line from Virgil, "*Numine afflatur,*" is inscribed on the tablets of the laughing children at her feet. In form and modelling these majestic figures strongly resemble the later Madonnas of Raphael's Florentine period, while in some respects they recall Perugino's frescoes in the Cambio at Perugia. But at the same time we are conscious of a new influence, and realize the sense of grandeur and repose which was the result of Raphael's first sight of the Eternal City and of all the wonders of classical art. In the presence of this marvellous world the master's natural feeling for beauty, dimmed and obscured for a time by his passionate devotion to scientific studies in Florence, revived again and blossomed out into new and countless forms.

The Pope, Vasari tells us, was delighted with these allegorical figures, and bade his new favourite paint the rest of the room without delay. At the same time, with characteristic impetuosity, he dismissed the other artists in his service, and ordered the paintings which they had already executed to be destroyed. This last statement, often as it has been repeated, was clearly an invention of Vasari, and the delicate little classical subjects which Sodoma painted on the same ground of shimmering gold as Raphael's allegories, as well as Perugino's and Peruzzi's similar decorations in the neighbouring rooms, remain in existence to this day. But when this part of their work was done, the several artists went their way. However arbitrary their dismissal may have seemed at the time, posterity, it must be owned, has justified the Pope's decision. Raphael was henceforth the Pontiff's chosen painter, and applied himself with ardour to the great task before him. He took counsel with Castiglione

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and Bembo and with the other humanists whom he had known at Urbino and whom he often met in Rome, and asked the poet Ariosto's advice as to the personages who were to be introduced in his frescoes. He studied Dante's great poem and Petrarch's "Triumphs," and consulted the works of Marsilio Ficino and the Florentine Platonists on the one hand, and took the opinions of Sadoletto and the learned theologians of the Papal Court on the other. And out of all these different elements his wonderful intelligence evolved one grand scheme of decoration, embracing the whole realm of human knowledge. To apply this scheme to the irregular spaces of the walls, cut up as they were with two large windows and doors, was no easy task, and all Raphael's decorative skill was needed to overcome these difficulties. But he profited by his friend Bramante's advice in these matters, and the immense labour which he devoted to the preparation of his cartoons is shown by the elaborate studies of the different groups and figures which are preserved in the Albertini and the Louvre, at Lille and Milan, at Oxford and Windsor.

On the pendentives of the vaulted ceiling, immediately under the four allegorical figures which supply the keynotes of the whole design, he painted original and dramatic versions of *The Fall of Man*, *The Judgment of Solomon*, *The Triumph of Apollo over Marsyas*, and a female figure bending over a globe, intended to represent Astronomy or Natural Science. On the broad space of the right-hand wall under Theology, Raphael placed his grand vision of the Church militant and triumphant, popularly known as *The Dispute of the Blessed Sacrament*. Heaven and earth join in adoration of the supreme Christian mystery, the Eucharist which is the link between the seen and the unseen world. Above we see the Father and the Holy Angels in the highest Empyrean; the Son

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lifting his pierced hands between the Blessed Mother and St. John the Baptist ; the Princes of the Church, Adam and Abraham, Moses and David, as described by Dante, throned by the side of the Apostles and martyrs. Below, immediately under the golden rays of the Dove descending out of Heaven, is the altar of the Blessed Sacrament, with the saints and confessors of all ages grouped around. The Fathers of the Church are seated in full pontifical robes : Jerome reading with the lion at his side ; Augustine dictating his " Confessions," with the " Civitate Dei " at his feet ; Gregory and Ambrose gazing upwards in joy and wonder at the opened heavens. The great Pope Innocent III stands between the Doctors of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, Aquinas and Bonaventura ; on the lower step, in gold brocades and tiara, we see Pope Sixtus IV, the uncle of Julius II ; and behind him Dante and Savonarola—the friar condemned to death by the hated Borgia Pope and venerated as a saint and martyr by Raphael's friends in Florence. In the group on the opposite side we recognize the features of another friar of S. Marco, Fra Angelico, the blessed painter whose portrait by Luca Signorelli's hand at Orvieto Raphael may have seen on his way to Rome. The animation of the scene offers a striking contrast to the calm serenity of the Saints in bliss. Some figures are reading and writing, others are engaged in earnest conversation. Behind Gregory the Great three men kneel in adoration, while in the foreground a youth, with long golden locks and outstretched hand, invites his companions to join in the same act of worship. The mingled variety and symmetry of the picture, the extraordinary skill with which these different figures are brought into harmony, the beauty and repose of the spacious sky and broad landscape in the background, all combine

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to make this fresco one of the noblest examples of monumental painting.

On the opposite wall of the Stanza, under the allegorical form of Philosophy, Raphael painted his other great fresco, the *School of Athens*. This name was invented by a French traveller of the seventeenth century, the Marquis de Seignelay, but the triumph of human reason as contrasted with the mysteries of the Christian faith is the true subject of the composition. Here, under a portico of stately Renaissance architecture, adorned with statues of Apollo and Minerva and classical bas-reliefs, the philosophers of the old Greek world are assembled. ~~The idea of the temple with its broad flight of steps may have been borrowed from Ghiberti's bas-relief of the Queen of Sheba on the Baptistery Gate at Florence, but the architectural scheme was, as Vasari tells us, probably designed by Bramante. While in the *Disputa* all the different parts of the picture meet at a central point, in the *School of Athens* the composition is broken up into separate groups and isolated figures engaged in scientific research and discussion. But two forms dominate the whole picture: Plato and Aristotle, the heroes of Greek philosophy and leaders of the rival schools, stand on the top of the steps engaged in earnest discussion. A halo of golden light bathes their forms, which are framed in by the central archway. Plato, clad in violet robe and crimson mantle and holding the book "Timæus" in one hand, points upwards to that heaven which is the home of the divine idea. Aristotle, the teacher of practical wisdom, wearing an olive-green robe and holding his "Ethics," stretches out his hand over the earth. The figure of Plato is singularly noble and impressive, and, according to an old tradition, in this sage with the lofty brow and flowing beard we see the features of Leonardo, for~~



Alinari.

PLATO (VATICAN STANZE).



Anderson

DANTE (VATICAN STANZE).

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whom Raphael, we know, had conceived a profound admiration, and whose character and studies may well have suggested the idea. The other philosophers are grouped around these central figures, each with the traditional appearance and special attributes by which he was known to the scholars of the age. Socrates, conspicuous by his uncouth form and ugly face, stands close to Plato, reasoning with Alcibiades, a tall youth in golden armour. Diogenes, in ragged clothes, reclines on the steps, musing in solitude over his tablets, with a wooden bowl at his side. Pythagoras, the arithmetician, is the centre of a group on the left. Euclid, in the likeness of Bramante, stoops down and draws geometrical figures on the floor, surrounded by four admiring scholars, who watch their teacher's action with keen interest and attention. Ptolemy, wearing a crown on his head, and holding a terrestrial globe in his hand, stands facing Zoroaster, in whom we recognize Castiglione's well-known features. A host of other forms move to and fro, ascending and descending the steps. One young scholar in a long brown cloak hurries in with a load of books under his arm, another turns away as if tired of learning. A father with a fair child in his arms listens to the words of Plotinus, the teacher who is said to have charmed even women and babes by the eloquence of his language. The youth in the gold-embroidered mantle, standing behind the group around Pythagoras, is supposed to be the Pope's nephew Francesco della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, who visited Rome with his bride, Leonora Gonzaga, in the spring of 1510; and in the handsome curly-headed boy on his left we recognize the young Duchess's brother, Federico, who had been sent to the Vatican as a hostage for his father, and was the old Pope's pet and plaything. Finally, in the two figures near Castiglione in the

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right-hand corner we have the portraits of Raphael himself and of the Lombard master Sodoma, whom with delicate courtesy he here acknowledges as his associate in the decoration of the hall. An interesting proof of the friendship between the two artists is to be seen in the drawing of Raphael in the library of Christ Church, Oxford, by the hand of Sodoma. Passavant long ago described this drawing, which was formerly ascribed to Leonardo, as Raphael's portrait, and quite recently Dr. Frizzoni recognized it to be the work of Sodoma. All of these fifty-two figures are brought together in one finely balanced and admirably arranged picture. When we consider the masterly drawing and modelling of each individual form and the beauty and variety of the separate motives, the significance of every detail, and the harmony and stately unity of the whole, we begin to realize the consummate art, the wonderful skill and industry displayed by Raphael in this magnificent composition. Each figure in this vast assembly, each look and gesture, embodies some abstract idea, some system of teaching. The philosophy of the ancient world as it was understood by the scholars and humanists of the Renaissance is here set forth, clad in forms of life and beauty.

The two remaining walls which Raphael had to paint were broken by large windows, and the task required all his ingenuity. But he was equal to the occasion. In the space above the window looking into the Belvedere Court, he painted the Mount of Parnassus with Apollo and the Muses resting in a laurel grove on the summit, and the poets of all ages wandering along its grassy slopes. This bright Sun-god, singing to the music of his viol, with the laurel crown on his brows and the fount of Helicon at his feet, and the Muses who recline beside him, are modelled less on

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classical patterns than on Renaissance types, and recall the works of Ferrarese and Florentine artists. Dante stands by Homer and Virgil on the sacred mount, Pindar and Horace converse with Ariosto and Tebaldeo, with Boccaccio and Sannazzaro, and Petrarch lingers by Sappho's side at the foot of the hill. Unfortunately this lovely and idyllic conception was marred by the cramped conditions under which the painter was compelled to work, and lacks the charm of spacious halls and wide horizons that is so marked a feature of the other frescoes in the room. On the opposite wall, where he had to represent the majesty of the law, Raphael has employed another method. He painted an allegorical group of the three cardinal virtues, Fortitude, Prudence, and Temperance, at the top of the window; and in the narrow spaces on either side two subjects illustrating the history of secular and ecclesiastical law. On the left, he represented Justinian, in his robes of imperial purple, delivering the Pandects to his minister; on the right, Pope Gregory IX handing the Decretals to his secretary. In this aged Pontiff we recognize the portrait of Julius II, who, in June 1511, had returned from his unsuccessful campaign against the French armies, and had vowed not to trim his beard until his foes were driven out of Italy. Among the Cardinals in his suite are the portraits of Giulio dei Medici and Alessandro Farnese, both of whom afterwards became Popes. The monochrome paintings under the *Parnassus*, representing Alexander placing Homer's works in the tomb of Achilles, and Augustus rescuing the *Æneid* from the flames, were probably the work of Raphael's pupils; while the doors and woodwork of the hall were adorned with rich intarsias, executed by Fra Giovanni da Verona under his direction.

In his later frescoes Raphael attained to a higher

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degree of technical perfection and a fuller knowledge of pictorial effect. But in the interest of their subjects the frescoes of this first Stanza surpass all his other works. They reflect the noblest aspirations of the Italian humanists, that deep sense of the unity of human thought and of the harmony which prevails among the best and wisest thinkers of every age. In their eyes no sharp line divided the old world from the new. Plato and Augustine, Dante and Savonarola, alike told of the same City of God. The poets and philosophers of Greece, and the Fathers and Doctors of the Christian Church, alike bore witness to the same Father of all. This dream we know was cherished by the finest intellects of the Renaissance; it was the common inheritance of Roman and Florentine scholars; but its most living and enduring image is to be seen in this Vatican hall, painted by the hand of Raphael.

The frescoes of the Camera della Segnatura were completed, we learn from an inscription on the wall, before the close of 1511, "in the eighth year of Julius the Second's reign," about the same time that Michelangelo's frescoes on the roof of the Sistine Chapel were unveiled. The Pope, well pleased with the success of his experiment, rewarded the painter liberally, and bade him begin the decoration of the next room without delay.

The triumphs of the Church and the divine intervention in favour of her Head were the themes which Raphael was now called to commemorate in the historical frescoes of the second Stanza. This time, there can be no doubt, the subjects were chosen by the Pope himself to celebrate the sudden and almost miraculous defeat of the French king, Louis XII, in June 1512. "The armies of France have vanished," wrote Vettori, "like mists before the sun."

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“We have triumphed, Paris!” exclaimed the Pope in his exultation to his loyal servant and chronicler Paris de Grassi, when the news reached Rome. “May God give your Holiness joy!” was the reply; upon which the Pope added, “And to all the faithful whom He has at length delivered from the yoke of the barbarians.” Julius II was acclaimed on all sides as the deliverer of Italy, and his victory was celebrated with solemn thanksgiving, processions, and by illuminations and fireworks throughout the city. The allusion to these contemporary events is evident in the fresco which gives its name to the room, the *Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple of Jerusalem*. In the second book of Maccabees we read how the Syrian captain Heliodorus invaded the precincts of the Temple to carry off the treasure reserved for widows and orphans, and how he was struck down and trampled under foot by a heavenly rider who suddenly appeared, accompanied by two young men in dazzling apparel. Raphael has represented this incident with a dramatic vividness and splendour of pictorial effect hitherto unequalled in historical art. We see the terrified women and children thronging the temple courts, the high priest kneeling in prayer before the altar, and on the right Heliodorus lying prostrate on the ground, under the hoofs of the celestial charger. The swift rush of the avenging rider and his attendant youths, the look on the face of the stricken man, the terror and confusion of his followers, are all given with marvellous power and skill. And on the left-hand side of the picture, in marked contrast to this scene of tumult and violence, Pope Julius appears, a venerable and majestic figure, borne in his chair of state, high above the heads of the surging throng. The presence of the Pope calmly surveying the scene before him is the best proof that the swift and sudden destruction

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of the sacrilegious invader was meant to represent the success of the Holy League and the Church's triumph over her enemies, an event which could only be ascribed to the immediate hand of God. The name of "Jo. Petro de Foliariis Cremonens," probably some Court official, is written on the roll of paper in the hand of the man robed in black and crimson, walking at the side of the Pope's chair; while in the fine-looking bearer who is so conspicuous a figure in the foreground we recognize the portrait of Raphael's friend and assistant Marc Antonio Raimondi, the great engraver. The bearer on the other side is probably Baldassare Peruzzi, the Sienese artist who painted the Old Testament subjects and decorative framework on the ceiling of this chamber.

Pope Julius appears again in the second fresco which Raphael painted on the vaulted space over the window. The subject of this picture was the miracle wrought at Bolsena in 1263, when a German priest who doubted the truth of the Sacramental doctrine saw blood flow from the wafer at the consecration. This miracle led to the institution of the Feast of Corpus Christi and the building of the Cathedral of Orvieto. Pope Julius had visited this sanctuary on his first campaign against Bologna, and had shown especial veneration for the relic of the blood-stained corporal which was there preserved. Now in gratitude for the success of his arms, he bade Raphael introduce the *Mass of Bolsena* into the second Stanza, thus forming a link between the fresco of the *Disputa* in the first room and the example of God's protection of His Church which is illustrated in the *Heliodorus*. The altar is raised on a flight of steps in the choir of a Renaissance church, enclosed by a balustrade, and the priest stands at one end, gazing in awe and wonder at the blood-stained corporal in his hand. The

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kneeling acolytes behind him, and the worshippers below, look up with eager faces, intent on the miracle that is happening before their eyes. Some bow down in devout adoration, others push forward up the steps, and a woman below stretches out her arms in a rapture of love and yearning, while the children at her feet lie huddled together, as yet unconscious of the miracle. At the other end of the altar the old Pope kneels with clasped hands, attended by Cardinal Riario, the President of the Sacred College, and three other prelates. At the foot of the steps a row of papal guards in their rich liveries look on with varied expressions of surprise and curiosity. In the masterly portraiture of these different heads, in the vigorous modelling and rich tones of the colouring which mark this fresco, we note the influence of Raphael's new friend the Venetian Sebastino del Piombo, who came to Rome in 1511, and was employed by Agostino Chigi to decorate his villa on the Tiber. The fruit of this intimacy soon became apparent in the work of both masters. On the one hand, Sebastino imitated the charm and distinction of Raphael's style with such good effect that several of his portraits—the *Violinist*, formerly in the Sciarra Palace, the Duke of Grafton's well-known group of *Carondelet and his Secretaries*, the *Dorotea* at Berlin—were long ascribed to the greater master. On the other hand, Raphael learnt the methods of Venetian painters from Giorgione's scholar, and added the last touch of perfection to his art. Fortunately the *Mass of Bolsena* is in better preservation than the other subjects in this Stanza, and remains one of the finest examples of fresco-painting in existence.

The *Deliverance of St. Peter from Prison*, which Raphael now painted on the wall opposite the *Mass of Bolsena*, is generally supposed to have been ordered

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by Leo X to commemorate his escape from the French after his capture at Ravenna. But, as Dr. Pastor, the latest historian of the Popes, has shown, there is good reason to assume that the subject was chosen by Julius II, who had been Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincula, the church on the Esquiline, where the chains which once bound the Prince of the Apostles were preserved as sacred relics. When in June 1512 the news of the rout and retreat of the French armies reached Rome, the Pope went in triumphal procession to his old titular church, and held a solemn service of thanksgiving for the deliverance of Italy from her foes. Then it was that he employed his favourite master to paint this fresco in the hall where he had already set forth the wonders wrought by God for His Church on earth. The story is told in three separate scenes. In the central space above the window a radiant Angel is seen through the prison bars, stooping down to wake the Apostle, who lies asleep on the floor, bound between two armed soldiers. On the right, the same white-robed Angel, holding Peter by the hand, descends the steps leading to the prison doors, and the Apostle follows him past the sleeping guards as if in a trance—"he went out," the Evangelist writes, "as if in a dream." On the left, a warder, bearing a lighted torch in his hand, rushes up the opposite flight of steps to give the alarm and rouse the watch. The ruddy light of the flaming torch is reflected in the polished armour of the sleeping guards, and in the sky a crescent moon is seen hanging over the distant city, while the dawn is breaking in the far east. The skill with which Raphael has balanced these different lights, and at the same time kept close to the Scripture text, excited the utmost admiration among his contemporaries, and made Vasari declare this fresco to be the rarest and most

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divine of all his works. Modern critics are less lenient, and recognize the hand of Giulio Romano and other assistants in the muscular forms and solid shadows of this work.

The subject of the fourth fresco on the long wall opposite the *Expulsion of Heliodorus*—the *Retreat of Attila before Leo I*—was originally chosen by Julius II, who is seen crowned with the papal tiara and throned on the “*sedia gestatoria*” in an old copy of Raphael’s first design which is still preserved at Oxford. But since the work was not executed until after the accession of Leo X, the new Pope was introduced as Leo I arresting the march of Attila and the Huns. Instead, however, of being seated in his chair, the Pope is represented riding on a white horse and followed by a troop of mounted Cardinals. We recognize the massive features of the Medici Pope and the portraits of many well-known personages at the Papal Court among the members of his suite, while St. Peter and St. Paul are seen appearing with drawn swords in the heavens. The barbarian king and his savage horde recoil in terror at the sight; the frightened horses rear and plunge and the wind-tossed banners and burning houses in the background add to the general horror. Attila’s noble charger is evidently a reminiscence of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol, and several of the other figures are borrowed from the antique bas-reliefs which supplied Raphael with so many of his finest motives. The impressive gesture of the Pope and the terror and dismay of the barbarians are finely given, but the scene is crowded and confused, the separate figures are not always correctly drawn, and the landscape with the Coliseum and monuments of ancient Rome is not in Raphael’s style. This fresco as a whole is distinctly inferior to the other three and bears

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evident traces of an assistant's hand, while all four have suffered from injudicious restoration. As in the Camera della Segnatura, the woodwork of this room was enriched with intarsias by Fra Giovanni; and Raphael's clever pupil, the Florentine Perino del Vaga, afterwards painted a series of caryatides and allegorical figures in grisaille on the walls under his master's works. No trace now remains of the paintings with which Raphael decorated the corridors leading from the Stanza to the Belvedere during the last months of Julius II's life, but the fragment of a *putto*, now in the Accademia di S. Luca in Rome, probably belonged to a shield bearing the papal arms which once formed part of these frescoes.



ASSOCIATI

MADONNA DI FOLIGNO.

VII

RAPHAEL IN ROME—MADONNAS AND PORTRAITS

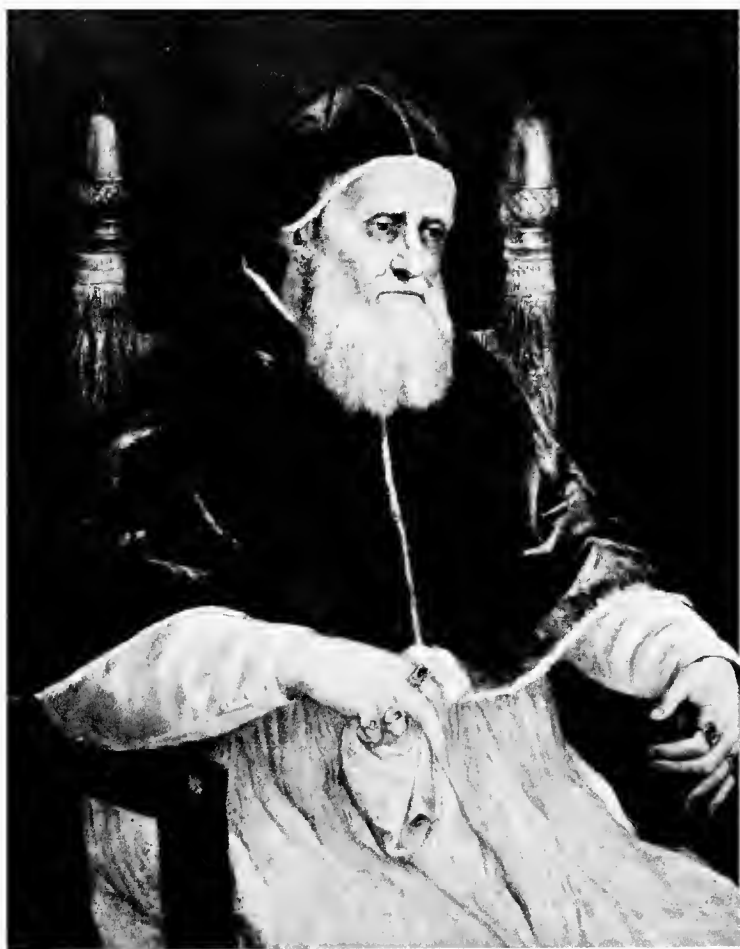
1508-1516

THE great works in the Vatican Stanze upon which Raphael was employed by Julius II did not absorb all his powers, and many of his best known Madonnas were painted during the first years which he spent in Rome. One of the earliest of these was the *Madonna di Loreto*, a picture of the Child waking out of sleep and stretching out both arms to His Mother, which was originally ordered by Cardinal Riario for the church of S. Maria del Popolo, and removed in the eighteenth century to the shrine of Loreto, from which it afterwards disappeared. Another version of this popular composition, which has been often copied and engraved, may be seen in the *Vierge au Diadème* of the Louvre, one of the many pictures designed by Raphael and executed by his favourite pupil Giulio Romano. Another little panel, the *Aldobrandini* or *Garvagh Madonna* in the National Gallery, was also an early work by Giulio executed from Raphael's designs, and probably painted under his eye. Four or five genuine Madonnas, however, belong to this period. The circular panel known as the *Madonna di Casa d'Alba*, now at St. Petersburg, was painted for Pope Julius, and presented

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by him to the monks of Nocera. In the gnarled trunk of the oak, throwing out new shoots, against which the Virgin kneels, we have an evident allusion to the revived fortunes of the house of Della Rovere, and both the classical folds of the draperies and the distant Campagna in the background bear witness to Raphael's Roman studies, which are mingled with reminiscences of Michelangelo's *tondi*. On the cartoon of this Madonna, in the Lille Museum, there is a sketch for the *Madonna della Sedia*, in which the master once more adopts the same form and groups his figures with masterly skill into the limited space at his command. This dark-eyed Mother clasping the Child in her arms and wearing the striped handkerchief of the Roman women on her head was evidently some model who sat to Raphael when he was engaged on the frescoes of the second Stanza, and the colouring is as rich and glowing as that of the *Mass of Bolsena* itself. Probably this picture—the most popular of all Raphael's Madonnas—was painted for Cardinal Giovanni dei Medici before he became Pope, since it belonged to the Medici Collection as early as 1589.

Two other less known, but scarcely less beautiful, Madonnas were also painted about this time. One is the picture of the *Virgin and Child* in the Bridgewater Gallery, which, although in some respects strongly resembling the later Florentine Madonnas, is executed in a freer and broader style, and is now generally ascribed to the painter's Roman period. The similarity of the Cupid guiding the nymph's shell-chariot in the fresco of *Galatea* to the Child in this picture seems to confirm the accuracy of this conclusion. But this motive of the Child lying across His Mother's knee and playfully trying to snatch her veil had long been in the painter's mind, and evidently cost him much anxious research, as we see from the sketches



Brogi

POPE JULIUS II. (PITTI).

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which cover whole sheets in the British Museum, at Windsor and Florence. From these different studies Raphael finally evolved the design of rare grace and beauty which we admire in Lord Ellesmere's picture. The other is the Madonna with the Child standing on a parapet—a motive common in Venetian art and probably suggested to Raphael by his friend Sebastiano del Piombo. Like the Bridgewater Madonna, this picture came to England from the Orleans Gallery, and once belonged to the poet Rogers, at whose sale, in 1856, it was bought by Mr. Mackintosh, Recorder of Bombay, whose daughter is the present owner. Unfortunately this once lovely work has suffered terribly from neglect and repaint, but not even the restorer's hand has been able wholly to destroy the exquisite charm and tenderness of Raphael's original design. It is quite possible that this picture was the *Little Virgin and Christ* by Raphael mentioned in the inventory of King Charles I's sale, and valued on that occasion at the high price of eight hundred pounds. This *quadretto*, as it was called, came from Mantua, and may have been the very painting which Isabella d'Este ordered in 1515, but which Castiglione discovered to be still unfinished four years later. In all probability it remained in the same state at the time of Raphael's death and was afterwards completed by other hands.

The larger and more elaborate altar-piece which Raphael painted for the Papal chamberlain, Sigismondo dei Conti, before the bishop's death in 1512, originally adorned the Franciscan church of Ara Coeli, but was removed to Conti's native city of Foligno, and afterwards taken to Paris. The painting was then transferred to canvas, and ultimately brought back to Rome and placed in the Gallery of the Vatican. Here Raphael, forsaking alike Umbrian and

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Florentine traditions, ventures boldly on a new departure, and shows us the Madonna and Child no longer throned under a canopy, but floating on the clouds of Heaven, encircled with a halo of cherub heads. On the flower-grown sward at her feet, the Baptist stands pointing upwards to the Virgin, and St. Francis, kneeling at his feet, gazes with rapt face on the heavenly vision, while at the same time, mindful of sorrowing humanity, he stretches out a hand to earth, and commends his children to mercy. Opposite, St. Jerome lays his hand on the head of the aged donor, who, clad in ermine collar and crimson robes, kneels in devout worship at his side. A lovely boy-angel, holding a tablet, stands between the two groups, looking up at the Virgin, and forms a link between the saints on earth and the seraph host in Heaven; and in the distance the towers of Foligno, with a rainbow and meteor in the sky, remind us that this picture was intended to commemorate the prelate's deliverance from a fireball which had exploded near him in his native city. Nowhere is Raphael's skill in composition more clearly shown than in this altar-piece, yet nowhere are his simple charm and tender feeling more evident. The attitude of the Madonna resembles that of the Virgin in Leonardo's unfinished *Adoration* at Florence; the laughing Child turning round in her arms to look down at the boy-angel below has some affinity with the Bridgewater Child; but the whole picture is bathed in the golden glow which was a distinctive feature of the master's later Roman time.

The development of Raphael's style is equally apparent in the portraits of his Roman days. Fine and lifelike as were the portraits of his early Umbrian and Florentine time, they cannot compare in vigour of characterization and pictorial beauty with those



Alinari.

LEO X. (PITTI).

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which he painted during the last ten years of his life. There is a union of dramatic power and intensity of expression in the portraits of his Roman period, of rich colouring and grandeur of style, which raises them to the highest rank among the world's great pictures. Foremost among these is the portrait of Pope Julius II, which he painted in 1511, for the church of S. Maria del Popolo. Critics are still divided as to whether the Uffizi or Pitti picture was the original work, and it is possible that both are by the hand of the master. But in both portraits the great old Pope is represented, in Vasari's words, "looking so exactly like himself that one trembles before him as if he were still alive." He is sitting in his arm-chair, wearing a purple cape, red velvet cap, his head bent downwards and his brows seamed with deep furrows. But every line of the wrinkled and emaciated face and firmly closed mouth reveals the restless energy and iron will of the man.

It is very interesting to compare this portrait of Julius II in his last days with that of his successor Leo X, which Raphael painted seven years later. The Medici Pope is represented sitting at a table with the eye-glass which he habitually used owing to his short sight, and a book of miniatures open before him. His nephew, Cardinal Giulio dei Medici, and his secretary, Cardinal dei Rossi, stand on either side, but their figures are purposely kept in the background and only serve to bring the chief sitter into greater prominence. The Pope's heavy jaw, short neck, and fat white hands are all accurately reproduced, and the intellectual acuteness and refinement of the massive head and sensuous features are brought out with extraordinary skill. We have before us the cultured, pleasure-loving man who said, "Let us enjoy the Papacy, since God has given it to us," and realize

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all the strength of the passion, the ambition, and vindictiveness that lay hidden under this placid and kindly exterior. As a revelation of human character this portrait of Leo X is as fine as that of Julius II; as a work of art it is even finer. "The figures," writes Vasari, "appear to be, not painted, but carved in relief; the furs and velvets, the gold and silk, the chased silver bell, the gilded ball of the arm-chair with its reflection of the Pope's shoulders, the lights of the windows and the room are all represented with the same marvellous exactness and reality." The same power of transforming ugliness, the same skill in seizing on the best aspects of the sitter, mark the portrait of Tommaso Inghirami, the librarian of the Vatican, better known by his surname of Phædra, from the part which as a youth he had played in the performance of the tragedy of Hippolytus at the Papal Court. This distinguished humanist, whom his friend Erasmus called the Cicero of the age, is represented sitting at his desk with a pen in his hand, and his squinting eye and intellectual face turned upwards as if seeking some new inspiration for his theme. Unfortunately the original of this fine portrait, which hung in the Inghirami Palace at Volterra, has now been removed to America, and is only known to most of us by an inferior copy in the Pitti. The double portrait of the Venetian humanists, Andrea Navagero and Agostino Beazzano, in the Doria Palace, was recognized by Morelli as the work which the Anonimo saw in Pietro Bembo's house at Padua in 1525, and to which Bembo himself alludes in a letter of July 1538. The conception and treatment of the two figures are entirely different. Beazzano, the good-natured, indolent student, is represented full face, with the light playing on his smooth-shaven features. Navagero, the stern, vigorous man of action, bearded and dark-



Il cinquante

PORTRAIT OF RAPHAEL BY SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO
(BUDA PESTH)

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haired, is standing with his figure in profile and the light falling on his neck, looking back at the spectator over his shoulder, a pose commonly adopted by Venetian portrait-painters of Giorgione's school. This has led the able critic of the Prado Gallery, Mr. Charles Ricketts, to conclude that the attribution of Navagero's portrait to Raphael is wrong, and that this figure was in reality a separate work by Sebastiano del Piombo. But this is not the only instance in which Raphael imitated the style and borrowed the attitudes of the Venetian artists. Both Navagero and Beazzano, we know, were in Rome in 1516, and their names are linked with those of the painter of Urbino in a well-known passage of Bembo's letters. "To-morrow," he wrote on the 3rd of April, to his friend Cardinal Bibbiena in Florence, "I am going with Raphael, Navagero, Beazzano, and Baldassare Castiglione to Tivoli, where I have not been for twenty-seven years. We mean to see both old and new, and all that is beautiful in the country round. I go to please Messer Andrea, who is leaving for Venice the day after Pasquino," the 25th of April, a day when all the wits in Rome hang their verses and epigrams on the torso of Pasquino.

Many of the other portraits which excited the admiration of Raphael's friends in Rome have perished. The picture which, at Isabella d'Este's request, he painted of her son, young Federico Gonzaga, in the jewelled cap and doublet of gold brocade in which he rode at the side of Julius II to the opening of the Lateran Council, was interrupted by the Pontiff's death. "Messer Raphaello of Urbino," wrote the prince's tutor to the Marchesa, when the old Pope lay dying, "has returned the cap and doublet of Signor Federico, in which he was to paint his portrait, and begs your Excellency to pardon him, since at the

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present moment he finds it impossible to give his mind to the work." After the painter's own death, Castiglione recovered the portrait, which had been finished either by the hand of Raphaël or one of his pupils, and sent it to the Duke at Mantua; but although it was among the paintings bought by Charles I in 1627, and afterwards belonged to the Lucys of Charlecote, it has now disappeared. The two portraits of the Pope's brother, Giuliano dei Medici, Duke of Nemours, and of his nephew, Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, which were pronounced to be masterpieces of art, have also vanished, and a similar fate has befallen a portrait of the Ferrarese poet, Antonio Tebaldeo, of which Bembo speaks with so much enthusiasm. "Raphael," he wrote to Cardinal Bibbiena in April 1516, "has painted our Tebaldeo in so lifelike a manner that he is not so exactly himself in actual existence as in this picture. For my own part, I never saw so perfect a likeness. You may imagine what Messer Antonio says and thinks of this, and indeed he has good reason to be proud, for in point of likeness the portraits of Messer Baldassare Castiglione and of our good and lamented Duke [Giuliano dei Medici]—God grant him eternal bliss—might be by the hand of an apprentice, compared with this of Tebaldeo. I am very envious and really think I must have my own portrait painted next."

This likeness of Tebaldeo was formerly supposed to be the portrait belonging to the Scarpa Collection at La Motta in Friuli, now in the Budapest Museum. But this fine picture was recognized by Morelli as being a work of still greater interest—the portrait of *Raphael* himself, by the hand of Sebastiano del Piombo. The picture indeed bears all the distinctive features of the Venetian artist's style, and an eighteenth-century engraving of the subject is mentioned by



BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE (LOUVRE).

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Passavant in his list of Raphael's portraits. The Venetian has painted the great master standing before an open window, looking out on the aqueducts and towers of the Campagna, with his hands resting on a stone parapet in the corner. The rich fur mantle and fine white linen, the easy grace and courtly bearing, all bear witness to the exalted position which the painter of Urbino had attained at the Papal Court. We see him here as he was in the flower of his age and at the height of his splendid career, with the frank air and sunny smile, the gracious presence and charming manner which no one was able to resist.

When so much has perished, it is some consolation to feel that two of the finest portraits which Raphael painted at this period have been preserved, and that these should represent two of his most intimate friends. One is the picture of *Castiglione* which went to England with the other "Mantuan pieces" in the time of Charles I, and now hangs in the Salon Carré of the Louvre. The other is that of *Cardinal Bibbiena* in the Prado of Madrid. Both are painted with a freedom and mastery which Velasquez alone has equalled, and with a refinement to which the great Spaniard himself never attained. The quiet harmony of sober black and grey, the velvet collar and sleeves and lace ruffles, the indescribable air of elegance and repose in the portrait of Castiglione, agree with all that we know of the writer of the "Cortigiano," who was himself the best example of his own perfect courtier. In the same way, the rich cape of red watered-silk and lawn sleeves, the blue eyes and chestnut hair, the long aquiline nose and cunning mouth, correspond with our idea of the wily diplomat and witty writer, the "bel Bernardo" who was the closest friend both of Castiglione and of Raphael. The marked difference between this Madrid picture and

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the portrait of the same Cardinal in the Pitti, which also bears the name of Raphael, has led some critics to reject the old tradition which associates Bibbiena's name with this magnificent work. But in point of fact the features are the same. Only, while the Prado portrait represents the Cardinal in the prime of life, in the other he appears to be broken in health and prematurely aged. This last picture, it is plain, was either painted by Raphael's scholars, or else is a copy from a lost original by his hand.

With these triumphs of Raphael's art we may rank another portrait which was probably painted about the same time, the so-called *Donna Velata* of the Pitti, which Vasari mentions as being the property of the Florentine merchant Matteo Botti, and which was bequeathed by a member of his family in 1619 to the Grand Duke Cosimo II. This picture is of especial interest. It is the only woman portrait of Raphael's Roman days, and there can be little doubt that it represents the features of his beloved. The fable of the master's love for the baker's daughter has long been rejected as a modern invention, and the coarse and vulgar portrait known as the *Fornarina* in the Barberini Palace is now generally acknowledged to be the work of Giulio Romano. Throughout his short life Raphael was too much absorbed in work to think of marriage. He steadily declined the advantageous proposals which he received from his friends at Urbino, and even when Cardinal Bibbiena offered him his niece, he delayed to make her his wife, and put off the marriage repeatedly until Maria herself died. But Vasari tells us that he "loved one woman to the end, and made a beautiful and living portrait of her" which his friend, "the good and worthy Matteo Botti, kept as a precious relic for the painter's sake." Like the portraits of Castiglione and Bibbiena, this picture



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CARDINAL BIBBIENA (PRADO).

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is painted with a light and rapid touch, and has the same pearly tones and warm golden glow.

The lady is of noble Roman type with regular features and dark, radiant eyes. Her white bodice is embroidered with gold and the sleeves are of striped yellow damask. She wears a veil on her head and a string of shining stones round her throat, and lays her right hand on her breast. We know not whether this was the mistress to whom the painter addressed the sonnets on the back of the sketches for the *Disputa*—that lady of his love who was far above him and whose name must never be revealed—or the “Mamola bella” of whom he speaks in the letter to his uncle at Urbino. But we know that this fair face haunted his dreams, and meets us again in two of the noblest altar-pieces which he painted during these last years in Rome, the *St. Cecilia* and the *Madonna di San Sisto*.

The first of these was ordered in 1513 by Cardinal dei Pucci for his kinswoman, Elena Duglioli, a noble lady of Bologna, but only finished two years later. *St. Cecilia* is represented clad in shining raiment of white and gold, standing in a wooded landscape, holding her organ in her hand, and attended by four saints. On the right, the Magdalen, a tall and stately form, wearing the features of the Pitti maiden, stands with her vase of precious ointment. On the left, *St. Paul* leans on his sword, rapt in silent meditation. Behind them a bearded *St. Augustine* and a youthful *St. John* stand with their eyes fixed on the Saint's countenance, waiting for the organ melodies to sound, while *St. Cecilia*, lifting her eyes to Heaven, sees the light breaking in the sky and hears the angel song. The organ in the Saint's hand and the musical instruments at her feet are said by Vasari to have been painted by Giovanni da Udine, one of Raphael's

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favourite assistants, while the rest of the work was entirely executed by his own hand. When, however, the picture was taken to Paris, and there transferred to canvas, it was completely repainted, and at the present time the actual design is all that is left us of Raphael's work.

The *Madonna di San Sisto* was originally painted for the Cistercians of S. Sisto of Piacenza about 1515 or 1516, and was probably ordered by Antonio dei Monti, Cardinal di San Sisto. In 1753 this famous picture was sold by the friars to Augustus III of Saxony for nine thousand pounds, and has since then been the ornament of the Dresden Gallery. Like the great portraits of Raphael's latter years, this altar-piece is painted on canvas, and has the same rich colour, the same golden tones and transparent shadows. In the Foligno altar-piece he had represented the Virgin throned on the clouds and worshipped by the saints on earth. Here he went a step further and painted the Madonna and Child floating down from the highest heaven, adored by saints in glory. The altar-hangings have, as it were, been drawn back suddenly to reveal the wondrous vision, and the aged Pope Sixtus looks up in devout adoration, while St. Barbara bends her gaze downwards and smiles on the angel-boys, who rest their elbows on the parapet below, and look up at the Virgin and Child with large, wistful eyes. The surface bears marks of a restorer's hand. The colour has peeled off in places, and St. Barbara's face is badly damaged, but still the picture retains a sublime grandeur and majesty that render it unlike all others. The majestic Child, cradled in His Mother's arms and looking out with grave wonder on the world; the Divine Virgin, with the serene brow and mystic light in the eyes, have a glory that is not of earth. The pure line and flowing draperies,



Alinari.

LA DONNA VELATA (PITTI).

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the perfect rhythm of the design, recall the *Madonna del Gran Duca*, and thus recollections of the painter's earliest Florentine Virgins are blended with dreams of the unknown maiden whom he loved, in this last great creation.

VIII

RAPHAEL AS ARCHITECT AND DECORATOR

1513-1518

THE year 1514 was a memorable one in Raphael's life. During this year he finished the frescoes of the Stanza d'Eliodoro, which, as we have seen, mark a new and important stage in his development, and was appointed architect of St. Peter's. The accession of a new Pope had made no difference in the position which the master held at the Vatican, and from the first Leo X. honoured him with marks of especial favour. His own friends were raised to high office: Pietro Bembo became one of the papal secretaries; Bibbiena was created a cardinal; and the Pope's brother Giuliano, who had taken refuge at Urbino when the Medici were in exile, appointed the painter to a post in his household. As Leo X. himself told Sebastiano del Piombo, Michelangelo was too terrible a man for him, but in the courteous and charming master of Urbino he found an artist after his own heart. When Bramante died, Raphael was appointed chief architect in his place with a salary of three hundred ducats, in accordance with his kinsman's last wishes. He had, it seems, already acted as Bramante's assistant in designing Roman churches and palaces, and in the papal brief of 1st April 1514 con-

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Hayn.

SAINT CECILIA (BOLOGNA).

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firming his appointment he is described as not only excellent as a painter, in the opinion of all, but as having been chosen and held worthy by Bramante to continue the building of the temple of the Prince of the Apostles. Raphael lost no time in entering on his new duties, and by August had prepared a wooden model of St. Peter's for the Pope's inspection. Bramante's original design was to be altered to a Latin cross, and the nave, cupola, and portico were to be planned on a larger and grander scale. These vast schemes, however, were never carried out. The new choir and transepts which Bramante had raised hastily to satisfy the impatience of Pope Julius were found to be in a dangerous state, and all Raphael's time was spent in propping up the pillars and strengthening the foundations laid by his predecessor. The papal treasury was exhausted by Leo X's extravagance, and Raphael died before funds could be raised to carry out his plans.

Two letters written by the painter during the summer of 1514 show the natural pride and pleasure of the young man in his exalted post, and the ardour with which he entered upon his new duties. The first was addressed to his old uncle Simone Ciarla, who had apparently begged his nephew to return to Urbino, take a wife, and settle down in his old home. This Raphael shows him to be impossible, and then proceeds with delightful frankness to explain the causes which detain his return and put the marriage out of the question :

“Dearest in the place of a father,—I have received your letter, which is very dear to me, as a proof that you are not angry with me, which would indeed be wrong, considering how tiresome it is to write when there is no need. Now that the question is of importance, I answer you and will tell you all that I have

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to say in explanation. First of all, in the matter of taking a wife, I am perfectly satisfied with regard to her whom you wished to give me, and thank God continually that I neither married her nor any other, and in this I have been wiser than you. I am sure you will recognize this too, and will see that if I had done as you wished I should not be where I am now. At the present time I have property in Rome with three thousand gold ducats, and an income of fifty gold crowns, as his Holiness gives me a salary of three hundred gold ducats for superintending the fabric of St. Peter, which will continue as long as I live; and I am sure to earn more from other sources and am paid whatever I choose to ask for my work. And I have begun to paint another room for his Holiness which will bring me one thousand two hundred gold ducats, so that you see, my dearest uncle, that I do honour to you and to all my family and to my country. But none the less, I always have you in my heart, and when I hear your name I feel as if I heard that of my father. But do not complain of me if I do not write to you, since I might rather complain of you, who sit all day with your pen in hand and yet allow six months to pass between one letter and the next, and yet for all that I am not as angry with you as you wrongfully are with me. I have left the subject of marriage, but to return to it, I must tell you in reply that Santa Maria in Portico [Cardinal Bibbiena] wishes to give me one of his relatives, and with your leave and that of my uncle the priest I have promised to do what his Reverend Highness desires. I cannot break my word, as we are more intimate friends than ever, and I will soon tell you all. Have patience until this thing is finally settled, and if it does not come off, I will do as you wish and tell Francesco Buffa that if he has proposals to make

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I have others, and can find a fair maiden here in Rome, of most excellent repute and family, whose friends are ready to give me a dowry of three thousand gold crowns, and that in house-property in Rome, where one hundred ducats are certainly worth more than two hundred in Urbino. As for remaining in Rome, I cannot live anywhere else for some time to come, on account of the fabric of St. Peter, now that I am in Bramante's place. But what city in the world can compare with Rome, what enterprise is more worthy than this of St. Peter, which is the first temple in the world? And these are the grandest works which have ever been seen, and will cost more than a million in gold, and the Pope has decided to spend sixty thousand ducats a year on the fabric and can think of nothing else. He has given me as colleague a very learned old friar, who is more than eighty, and the Pope, seeing that he cannot live long, has resolved to give him to me for a companion, since he is a man of extraordinary knowledge, so that I may learn any fine secrets of architecture that he has to teach and become perfect in this art. His name is Fra Giocondo; and every day the Pope sends for us and discusses the fabric for some time with us. I beg you to go and see the Duke and Duchess and tell them this, for I know they will be pleased to hear that one of their servants is doing them honour, and commend me to their Highnesses, as I continually commend myself to you. Greet all our friends and relations for me, and most of all Ridolfo, who has shown me so much true affection. On the 1st of July 1514,

“YOUR RAPHAEL,

Painter in Rome.”

Raphael's old uncle evidently complied with the writer's request and showed this letter to the Duke

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and Duchess, for it was found among the papers of the last Duke of Urbino that were brought to Rome in the seventeenth century, and was seen by Richardson a hundred years later. The second letter was written in a more polished and courtly style and addressed to Raphael's loyal friend and patron, Baldassare Castiglione, who had lately left Rome for the Court of Urbino.

“MY LORD COUNT,—I have made several drawings of the subject which your Highness suggested, and all who see them seem well satisfied, if they are not all base flatterers! But I confess that they do not satisfy my judgment, because, I fear, they will not satisfy yours. I send them and hope your Highness will choose any one which you may count worthy. Our Lord the Pope has done me the honour to lay a great burden on my shoulders. This is the charge of the fabric of St. Peter. I hope I shall not sink under the load, especially since the model I have made pleases his Holiness and has been praised by several men of fine intellect. But my thoughts still soar to greater heights. I long to find out more about the noble forms of ancient monuments, and I know not if my flight may not prove to be that of Icarus. Vitruvius has brought me much light, but has not shown me all I want to know. As for the *Galatea*, I should count myself to be a great master if half the things that your Highness finds in her were there, but in your words I recognize the love that you bear me. And I tell you that if I am to paint a beautiful woman I must see several, and make the condition that your Highness should be with me to choose the fairest! But since good judges and lovely women are alike rare, I make use of a certain ideal that is in my mind. If it has any artistic excellence, I know not, but I try hard to

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reach it. Let me have your Highness's commands. From Rome."

This letter fixes the date of one of Raphael's finest works, the fresco of *Galatea* which he painted in the hall of Agostino Chigi's villa. Here Sebastiano del Piombo had already painted a fresco of Polyphemus piping on the Sicilian shore, but his work failed to satisfy the wealthy banker, and Raphael was induced to undertake the companion subject of Galatea driving her chariot of dolphins on the waves. The theme had an especial interest for Castiglione, who, one carnival at Urbino, had composed a pastoral play in which the Duchess Elizabeth figured as the nymph Galatea, and he probably helped Raphael in the composition of the fresco. The details of the scene, the Tritons riding their sea-horses, the *amorini* shooting arrows from the clouds, the shell which serves the goddess for chariot, are borrowed from antique bas-reliefs, and the joyous nymph, with her long locks and purple drapery floating on the breeze, is the very incarnation of the Greek world as it appeared to the humanists of Leo X's court. All Rome applauded Raphael's latest composition, and Chigi in his delight declared that no other artist should ever work for him. At his urgent request the painter adorned the archway of the Chigi chapel in Santa Maria della Pace with a fresco of the four Sibyls and their attendant genii. These beautiful but sorely damaged paintings, which Vasari pronounced to be the most perfect of all the master's works, undoubtedly reveal the influence of Michelangelo. But Raphael after his usual habit only assimilated certain elements in his great rival's works and adapted them to his own uses. These cunningly devised figures, the youthful Cumæan Sibyl lifting her impassioned gaze to Heaven and her

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aged and hooded sister of Tibur looking out sadly into the dark future, are moulded with all the human charm and grace that were Raphael's peculiar heritage, and form a striking contrast to the solemn and majestic creations of his great rival. They recall the Allegories on the ceiling of the first Stanza, and are in their way models of decorative art. That they excited Michelangelo's admiration we know for certain. Cinelli tells us that Raphael was only paid five hundred ducats for this work, and when he remonstrated at the inadequacy of the sum, Chigi's cashier referred the matter to Buonarroti, who declared that each head in the fresco was worth one hundred ducats. On hearing this decision the banker told his agent to send Raphael another five hundred ducats without delay. "Be careful to treat Raphael with due courtesy and see that he is satisfied," he added, "for if he asks to be paid for the draperies as well we shall be ruined!" None the less Chigi employed Raphael to design his sepulchral chapel in S. Maria del Popolo and the mosaics of the *Creation*, with angels setting the planets in motion as described in the "Convito" of Dante. Another fresco of the *Prophet Isaiah* was painted by Raphael about this time on a pillar in S. Agostino for Bishop Gorlitz, the learned German prelate who entertained the Roman scholars in his gardens on the Quirinal. But this figure was entirely repainted by Daniele da Volterra, and little trace of the original design is now remaining.

Both architecture and archæology made great demands on the painter's time, and these occupations, which drew him away from his true vocation, are the more to be deplored since so little of his work in these directions is now in existence. The palace which he built for the papal Chamberlain, Giovanni Brancantonio dell' Aquila, in the Borgo Nuovo, was pulled



Anderson.

GALATEA (FARNESINA).

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down in the seventeenth century to make room for the colonnade of St. Peter's, and the plans which he made for the façade of San Lorenzo in Florence have been lost. The stately Pandolfini Palace in the Via San Gallo at Florence was executed after his death from designs which he made when he accompanied Leo X to Florence in November 1515 to give his opinion on the façade of S. Lorenzo, which was eventually designed by Michelangelo. In Rome the only architectural works by Raphael now remaining are the Cortile di San Damaso and the Loggie of the Vatican, which he completed in Bramante's style, and the once sumptuous but now dilapidated Villa Madama, which Cardinal Giulio dei Medici built from his plans on the slopes of Monte Mario.

In August 1515 Leo X issued a papal brief by which Raphael was appointed Inspector of Antiquities in Rome and in the district extending ten miles round, and was authorized to buy ancient marbles and stones for the works at St. Peter's. No inscriptions were to be destroyed without his leave, and the discovery of fragments of temples and statues was to be reported to him within three days. The master thus endeavoured to arrest the wholesale destruction of classical monuments which he had witnessed during the last few years, as he says in his Latin epistle to the Pope. At the same time he gladly availed himself of the facilities thus afforded him to examine the antique remains that were daily being brought to light. When the Baths of Titus were excavated, Raphael and his assistants, Vasari tells us, hastened to study the *grotteschi* in the vault, and his own paintings abound in motives that were borrowed alike from these frescoes and from the bas-reliefs of marble sarcophagi still in existence.

Meanwhile the decoration of the Vatican Stanza,

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as we learn from Raphael's letter to his uncle, was proceeding. The third room, by Pope Leo's desire, was adorned with frescoes from the lives of Leo III and Leo IV. A portrait of his new ally, Francis I, was introduced in the scene of Charlemagne receiving the imperial crown, and Leo X and his Cardinals were represented receiving the submission of the defeated Saracens on the shore of Ostia. But although Raphael designed these subjects and may have painted a few of the chief portraits, the greater part of their execution was left to his assistants. The fine composition of the *Incendio del Borgo*, with its animated groups of men, women, and children escaping from the burning houses, was doubtless his invention, but the cartoons were the work of Giulio Romano and his comrades. Both the drawing of the workmen carrying water in the Uffizi and the nudes in the Albertina, which were sent to Albert Dürer as Raphael's work, were executed by this able but coarse and slovenly artist, and only in a few pen-and-ink sketches which have been preserved in different public and private collections do we find any trace of the master's only hand.

Many of these drawings, so slight and yet so masterly in their classical feeling and lightness of touch, served as designs for plates executed by Marc Antonio Raimondi, the Bolognese engraver, who joined Raphael in 1510, and remained closely associated with him for many years. The *Massacre of the Innocents*, the *Lucrezia*, *Judgment of Paris*, *Venus and Cupid*, and a whole series of noble engravings, bearing the joint signature of the two artists, were issued in this manner, while a lucrative and extensive sale of these prints was carried on by another of Raphael's assistants, Baverio Carroccio. Some of these sketches of mythological subjects, such, for instance, as the lovely drawing

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known as the *Toilet of Venus*, in the British Museum, may have formed part of the decorative series illustrating the *Triumphs of Venus and Cupid* which Raphael designed for his friend Cardinal Bibbiena's bathroom in the upper story of the Vatican. In his letters to the absent Cardinal, Bembo alludes more than once to this "*stufetta*" upon which Raphael was engaged in the spring of 1516. The subjects of these little pictures were chosen by Bibbiena himself and painted on a black and red ground in the Pompeian style, enriched with devices of birds and flowers and antique cameos. Unfortunately this wonderful room, on which Cardinal and painter lavished so much thought and pains, has been allowed to suffer gross neglect and is still closed to the public. Herr Dollmayr, however, one of the latest historians who obtained admission to its precincts, describes the series as better preserved than the Loggie, and says that although the paintings on the roof are irreparably ruined, those on the walls retain much of their original grace and elegance.

In the midst of this bewildering diversity of occupations, Raphael produced one of his grandest and most famous works, the cartoons for the tapestries of the Sistine Chapel. The subjects of these decorative hangings were chosen by Leo X to complete the chapel where Umbrian and Florentine masters had painted Old Testament types and scenes from the life of Christ. Michelangelo had adorned the roof with the story of the Creation and the Fall of Man. The Acts of the Apostles and the foundation of the Church were the themes which Raphael was required to illustrate, and which he set forth with greater force and artistic perfection than had ever been done before. The first of the series was finished in June 1515, and the whole set was completed and sent to be

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reproduced in Flanders by the end of the following year. Three out of the ten cartoons were lost. The other seven remained in the weaver's shop at Brussels, cut into strips and pierced with holes, until in 1630 they were bought by Charles I. Since that time they have been in England, first at Hampton Court and then at South Kensington Museum, where their presence has exerted a great and enduring influence not only on successive generations of artists, but on popular conceptions of Bible history during the last two hundred years. Vasari declares that Raphael painted the whole of the cartoons with his own hand. Modern critics, on the contrary, assert that not one of the series contains any trace of the master's brush-work. In their present faded and mutilated condition it is impossible to speak positively on this point, and all that seems certain is that Francesco Penni had a large share in the work, and that Giovanni da Udine painted the birds and shells, grasses and flowers in the foreground of the pictures, as well as other decorative details. But in the grandeur and impressiveness of the figures and the consummate art of the composition, we recognize the presence of Raphael's genius. The story is told with the directness and simplicity of Giotto, but with the science and mastery which had been acquired by the artists of the Cinquecento. All superfluous matter has been carefully eliminated and the central thought stands out as clearly and forcibly as in the noblest classical art. The dramatic vigour of the conception, the way in which the rapid interchange of thought and the struggle of contending passions and emotions are represented, are even more striking than the admirable symmetry and marvellous skill of the grouping. Certain subjects, the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, the *Charge to St. Peter (Pasce ovem)*, and *St. Paul preaching at Athens*, are rendered with so

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absolute a truth and fitness that it is impossible to think of them in any other form. All the efforts and conceptions of older masters seem to culminate in this one great achievement of Raphael's prime. Masaccio's frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel, which the young painter from Urbino had studied so attentively in early days, and which he had lately seen again on his short visit to Florence in 1515, were evidently in Raphael's mind when he designed the *Feed My Lambs* and *St. Paul at Athens*. His master Perugino's teaching, the clear skies and spacious horizons of Umbria, came back to his thoughts as he drew the idyllic landscape of the Lake of Genesareth and its green and peaceful shores. His own knowledge of architecture stood him in good stead when he had to represent the temple courts at Lystra and the columns and portico of the "Beautiful Gate" at Jerusalem. In this last subject tradition came to his help, and the massive spiral pillars which he introduces were copied from a twisted column in St. Peter's which was said to have been brought from the Temple at Jerusalem. As usual, Raphael borrowed many details of his composition from Roman sarcophagi, and the group round the altar in the *Sacrifice of Lystra* is directly copied from an antique bas-relief. In a far higher sense he has endowed Christian ideas and symbols with the beauty and freedom of Greek art. In such noble and original creations as the Risen Christ appearing to His Disciples on the seashore, or the great Apostle of the Gentiles preaching to the men of Athens on the hill of Mars, he has given us ideals of majesty and tenderness, of passion and eloquence which can never be forgotten.

The extraordinary popularity of Raphael's cartoons and the hold which they still retain on our imagination and affection are due not only to their artistic merit,

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but to the closeness and accuracy with which the composition follows every detail of the Gospel story. From this point of view they may be said to reflect the new spirit of inquiry and Bible-reading which was abroad and which had already penetrated into the precincts of the Vatican, through the influence of humanists like Erasmus and Sadoletto. As in the frescoes of the Stanze Raphael had clothed the creeds of mediæval Christendom and the ideals of the Renaissance with forms of immortal beauty, so in the cartoons which he designed for the Sixtine Chapel he unconsciously foreshadowed the teaching of Luther and the coming Reformation.

IX

THE LAST YEARS

1517-1520

THE cartoons mark the final stage of Raphael's artistic development. From first to last his career had been one of steady and continual progress. He had gone from strength to strength, learning new lessons and gaining fresh triumphs at every step, borne along by that strength of will and passionate striving after perfection which had marked him from the beginning. The promise of his wonderful youth had been fulfilled. He had emancipated himself from the trammels of his early training and had successively mastered the different problems of technical art, the secrets of perspective, of anatomy, and colouring. No living painter, not Michelangelo himself, could surpass him in dramatic force, in the power of giving life and reality to a narrative and of combining unity of composition with variety of individual action and emotion. Henceforth no heights were beyond his reach. He stood without a rival in the painter's art. Unfortunately just at this moment when brain and hand were at their best, his activities were diverted into a thousand different channels, and his time and powers were frittered away in a multitude of labours that were beyond the strength of any one man. His creative genius was as fertile, his designs as

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splendid as ever, but save in a few rare instances, the execution of his conceptions was of necessity left to assistants. And so in these last years a marked decline became visible in his works. The paintings that issued wholesale from his workshop were signed with his name, but they bore little or no trace of his hand.

The *Madonna del Pesce*, now in the Prado, was painted for a Dominican church in Naples, at the request of one of the painter's first patrons in Rome, Cardinal Riario. The design of this enthroned Virgin looking graciously down on the angel leading the boy Tobias by the hand is admirable, but in the execution we miss the charm of Raphael and recognize the heavy hand and empty feeling of his assistants. The same may be said of the graceful composition known as the *La Perla*, in the same gallery. This admired Holy Family was originally painted for Castiglione's friend, Bishop Louis of Canossa, in 1518, and afterwards passed with the Gonzaga Collection to England and thence into the possession of Philip IV of Spain, who called it the pearl of his collection. The celebrated picture of Christ bearing the Cross, commonly termed *Lo Spasimo di Sicilia*, was destined for an Olivetan monastery at Palermo, and was sold by the monks in the seventeenth century to Philip IV of Spain. Here the idea of Christ sinking under the weight of the Cross and looking back over His shoulders at His Mother, which became so favourite a motive in later art, was evidently due to Raphael, but the execution of the work was left to Giulio Romano and his assistants. The very inferior *Visitation* in the Prado was ordered by the papal chamberlain Brancantonio dell' Aquila, and probably executed by Penni. The little picture of the *Vision of Ezekiel* in the Pitti was painted for Count Ercolani of Bologna in 1518, and

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is interesting as an example of the curious way in which Christian and pagan motives are blended together.

Raphael evidently borrowed this fine design of Jehovah riding on the eagle and ox and borne by angels in his flight through space from a sarcophagus in the Villa Medici, where Jove appears throned on the clouds and supported by the figure of Cœlus. But once more it is the hand of the scholar that we recognize in the coarse forms and dark shadows. Two larger altar-pieces now in the Louvre, the *Madonna of Francis I* and the *Archangel Michael*, were ordered by Leo X and taken to Fontainebleau by his nephew Lorenzo dei Medici in 1518, as a present to Francis I that summer. Both pictures were evidently designed by Raphael. The charming motive of the joyous Child springing up to meet His Mother, while a kneeling angel crowns the Madonna's brows with a wreath of flowers, and the great Archangel flashing down from Heaven in shining armour and tramping the dragon under his feet, clearly sprang from the master's brain. But both works were ruined by the hard metallic hues, hot flesh tints, and black shadows employed by Giulio Romano. "I am heartily sorry," wrote Sebastiano del Piombo to Michelangelo, "that you were not in Rome to see the two pictures which have been sent to France by the Prince of the Synagogue! You could not conceive anything more contrary to your ideas of art. The figures look as if they had been blackened with smoke or cut out in hard steel, and are drawn after a fashion of which Leonardo the saddler must tell you more!" And bitter and spiteful as the writer invariably showed himself in his jealousy of Raphael, it must be owned that his judgment in this case was not far wrong. These pictures, which were accepted by an uncritical age as

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the work of Raphael, proved fatal to his reputation in the eyes of a more enlightened generation. The master was held responsible for the faults and failures of his scholars, and it was not till Morelli and his followers cleared the ground and helped us to distinguish between the two that his true greatness was once more realized.

The last years of Raphael's life were literally crowded with vast undertakings. Under his direction two great decorative schemes were carried out by his scholars. In the course of 1518 the pavilion or loggia of Chigi's villa, afterwards known as "La Farnesina," was painted by Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni with scenes from the myth of Cupid and Psyche, set in wreaths of leaves and flowers on a blue ground. A number of red-chalk drawings, chiefly by Giulio Romano, are to be seen at Windsor, in the Louvre, Albertina, and other collections, while one or two pen-and-ink sketches—a Venus and Psyche at Oxford and a Mercury in the museum of Cologne—by Raphael's own hand are valuable as an indication of the slight designs from which his pupils worked. The frescoes themselves have suffered from exposure to sun and air and were covered with a thick coat of gaudy blues and reds by Carlo Maratta in the eighteenth century. But enough of the original design is left to show us the skill with which the difficulties of construction were overcome and the loggia was transformed into a garlanded bower hung with rich tapestries and spread out under a blue sky. We can realize the faery and poetic charm, the joy and brightness of the sight which delighted the eyes of the people that Christmas, when Chigi opened his villa doors and all Rome flocked to see the latest miracle of Raphael's imagination. Even then, we learn, the detractor's voice was raised and Sebastiano's friend the saddler

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told Michelangelo that the ceiling of Chigi's loggia was worse than the last Stanza and a positive disgrace to Raphael!

Towards the end of the same year the decoration of the loggia on the upper story of the Vatican was begun, and completed in the summer of 1519. This gallery, leading from the Stanze to the Belvedere and reserved for the Pope's use, was decorated with stucco mouldings in imitation of the grotteschi in the Baths of Titus. The elegant series of delicate arabesques, enriched with fruit and flowers, birds and animals, medallions and antique bas-reliefs in endless variety, was executed by Giovanni da Udine from the master's designs, and the vaulting of the arcades was adorned with the forty-six small paintings known as *Raphael's Bible*. As a matter of fact, none of these were executed by the master, and the whole series has been barbarously repainted, but in several of the Old Testament subjects we recognize the hand of Perino del Vaga, the accomplished young Florentine who could best render the grace and charm of Raphael's conceptions. Castiglione, in a letter written from Rome in June 1519, speaks of the new Vatican loggia, painted and ornamented with stuccoes in the antique style, as being the work of Raphael, and perhaps more beautiful than anything which has been seen in modern times. The Venetian Michieli, who was also in Rome at the time, is more accurate, and expressly states that the paintings in the Pope's loggia were made from designs by Raphael. To-day these once exquisite decorations are in ruins. The stucco is crumbling to pieces and the colour is scaling off the walls, but the whole effect is still rich and brilliant. The architecture and ornament, the paintings and the mosaic pavement of Della Robbia tiles all owed their origin to the same brain, and the combination of these

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several arts produced the finest and most complete decorative work of the Renaissance.

This association of all the arts and crafts under one master-mind was the most memorable achievement of Raphael's closing years. A whole school had sprung up under the influence of his genius. Architects and sculptors, painters, engravers, wood-carvers, and mosaic workers were employed by him in building and decorating churches and palaces. And all the members of this vast workshop, Vasari tells us, lived in perfect unity and concord, and "such harmony as has never been known elsewhere. For Raphael himself was so full of gentleness and goodness that even animals loved him, and he taught and helped each one of his scholars with a love which was that of a father for his children. And when he went to Court, he never left his house without being accompanied by fifty painters, all able and excellent men, who thus showed the honour in which they held him. In short, he led the life, not of a painter, but of a prince." "You walk as a general at the head of an army," was the remark with which Michelangelo is said to have greeted him one day on his way to the Vatican. "And you as an executioner going to the scaffold," replied Raphael.

A position of such exceptional distinction could not fail to provoke the envy of less fortunate artists, and a fierce rivalry sprang up between the followers of Michelangelo and of Raphael. The great Florentine himself was once heard to say that he owed all the vexations and disappointments which had hindered his work in Rome to the intrigues of Bramante and Raphael, whom he associated with his old rival. But although he might have uttered these words in a bitter moment, he always recognized the genius of the master of Urbino and praised him to others, even though he

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told Condivi that Raphael owed his art less to nature than to study. Raphael, on his part, never made any secret of his admiration for his illustrious rival, and thanked God that he had been born in the days of Michelangelo. But the jealousy of smaller men was restrained by no fine feelings. Sebastiano del Piombo, more especially, could not forgive Raphael for having been preferred to him by Agostino Chigi, and became the bitterest enemy of his old friend. His letters to Michelangelo abound not only in contemptuous criticisms of the work executed in the rival *bottega*, but in the basest insinuations and calumnies. On one occasion he goes so far as openly to accuse Raphael of robbing the Pope of three ducats a day in wages and gilding, and declares that he is ready to prove these charges before Cardinal dei Medici. But in the end he was punished for his presumption, as we learn from an anecdote recorded by Lodovico Dolce. Long afterwards when Titian was in Rome, and Sebastiano, who then held office in the papal household, was conducting him through the Stanze, the great Venetian paused before one of Raphael's frescoes which had been damaged during the sack of Rome, and which Sebastiano had been employed to restore, and asked the name of the ignorant fool who had dared to tamper with these magnificent creations? "Upon which," adds Dolce, "Sebastiano del Piombo became as livid as lead itself." In Raphael's lifetime it was Sebastiano's great ambition to be employed in the Vatican. At length, to his great satisfaction, he obtained an order from Cardinal dei Medici to execute an altar-piece of the Raising of Lazarus for his cathedral city of Narbonne, while at the same time Raphael was commissioned to paint another picture for the same church. Sebastiano began his work at once and, with the help of Michelangelo, had finished his picture within the

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next few months, but declared that he would not allow it to be seen, lest Raphael should borrow his ideas. Raphael only smiled when these malignant words were repeated to him, and rejoiced to hear that he should have not only Sebastiano but Michelangelo himself for his rival. In truth, he had neither time nor thought to spare for the Cardinal's altar-piece. The Pope was urging him to design frescoes for the next Stanza, and a new set of tapestries for the Sistine Chapel. One day his Holiness begged him to decorate his hunting-box at La Magliana, another he asked him to design a medal in honour of his nephew Lorenzo's wedding. When Cardinal Cibo gave a performance of Ariosto's play, "I Suppositi," in the Pope's honour Raphael was required to paint the scenery. When the elephant presented to Leo X by the King of Portugal died, it was Raphael again who had to take its likeness, to please the Romans, who were delighted with the animal for refusing to cross the bridge of S. Angelo with the Pope's fool Baraballo on its back. A life-size picture of the elephant was actually painted on the Vatican walls, probably by Giovanni da Udine, but the inscription bore Raphael's name, and the motto—"What Nature destroyed, Raphael of Urbino restored with his art."

Meanwhile king and cardinals alike were clamouring for pictures, and ambassadors and prelates from the most powerful princes waited patiently at his doors in the hope of being admitted for a few moments into the great master's presence. When his intimate friend, Cardinal Bibbiena, wrote from France begging him to paint the portrait of Ascanio Colonna's fair bride, Joanna of Aragon, as a gift for the Most Christian King, he could only hand over the work to an assistant, as he frankly told Alfonso d'Este. Isabella d'Este waited four years for a little picture which had been

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promised her, to be told by Castiglione in the end that he was convinced the painter only worked at her panel in his presence, and put it away as soon as his back was turned. Her brother, the Duke of Ferrara, tried caresses and threats by turn, and sent perpetual envoys to harass the master and insist on the execution of the work which he had ordered. Yet he obtained nothing in the end. But Raphael could not help himself. He was overburdened with work and pressed on all sides by impatient patrons whose demands it was impossible to satisfy.

In the midst of these overwhelming labours, the master set to work on a new undertaking which would have been enough to fill the lifetime of other men. This was nothing less than a systematic survey of the ruins of ancient Rome, illustrated with drawings of the chief monuments. He divided the city into fourteen regions, and with the help of a learned antiquarian, Andreas Fulvius, explored the first of these, making drawings from ancient descriptions of buildings that had been destroyed, and taking exact measurements of those which remained. This priceless work has perished, but the Latin report which Raphael prepared with the help of Castiglione in the shape of a letter to the Pope is still attached to the copy of Calvi's translation of Vitruvius in the library at Munich. This scheme excited the keenest interest among the humanists in Rome, and the papal secretary, Celio Calcagnini of Ferrara, who returned to Rome in 1519, told his Hungarian friends in glowing words of the great work which this wonderful youth, "the first of living painters and most excellent of architects," was preparing for the Pope.

"By digging out the foundations of ancient monuments and restoring them according to the descriptions of classical authors, he has filled Pope Leo and all

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Rome with such admiration that they look upon him as a god sent down from Heaven to restore the Eternal City to its former majesty. And yet, far from being puffed up with pride, he meets others in the most friendly spirit and rejects no advice or criticism. On the contrary, he is never better pleased than when his opinion is doubted or disputed, and is always eager to learn, counting this to be the greatest joy of life."

Calcagnini goes on to tell how this wealthy young man, the Pope's favourite painter, has actually taken the old humanist, Fabio Calvi, into his own house, the palace built by Bramante in the Borgo Nuovo, near the Vatican, and acquired by Raphael in 1517, in order that he may expound Vitruvius to him. This picture which the writer gives us of the great master's kindness to the aged scholar, whom he found at the age of eighty living on cabbage and lettuce in a hole no better than the tub of Diogenes, and cherished as tenderly as if he were his own father, shows that Raphael had lost none of his old gentleness and simplicity. But this very "*gentilezza*" proved fatal to him. In his anxiety to please everyone he overtaxed his strength, and at last his health gave way under the tremendous strain of incessant production. In the early part of the year 1520 his friends noticed the unwonted melancholy that oppressed him. But still he laboured with unceasing ardour, dividing his time between the works at St. Peter's, which required anxious attention, and Cardinal dei Medici's altar-piece. After some hesitation, he chose the Transfiguration for his subject and resolved, Vasari tells us, to paint the whole picture with his own hand. Sebastiano's *Raising of Lazarus* had been exhibited at Christmas in the Cardinal's rooms, and he was heard to boast that at least the figures were better drawn than those in the arras for the Sistine Chapel,

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which had lately come from Flanders. Conscious that Michelangelo had helped his rival, Raphael threw all his powers into the work, and determined that this time the picture should be worthy of his name. His conception was a fine one. No one before him had thought of combining the vision of Christ in glory on the Mount with the vain efforts of the disciples to heal the demoniac boy in the same picture. It was one of the contrasts in which Raphael delighted, and the painting would have been a masterpiece if he had lived to finish it. But he only painted the upper part—the transfigured Christ floating on the clouds of heaven with Moses and Elias at his side. Then the brush dropped from his hand, and his orphaned scholars were left to finish the great work.

On the 20th of March he received Alfonso d'Este's envoy, who had been vainly trying to obtain an interview with him for months past, and with his wonted courtesy promised to satisfy the Duke, and talked in a friendly way of the best plan for curing smoking chimneys. On the 24th he signed a contract for the purchase of a piece of ground from the Canons of St. Peter. Three days afterwards he fell ill of malarial fever, caught, it is probable, on one of his archæological expeditions, and sank rapidly, worn out in body and mind. But with characteristic tranquillity and thoughtfulness he made his will, appointing two of the chief officials in the papal household, Baldassare Turini, the Datary, and the Chamberlain Brancantonio dell' Aquila, to be his executors. He gave directions for his burial in the Pantheon and left a thousand ducats to endow a sepulchral chapel. Each of his servants was to receive three hundred ducats, and most of his property was bequeathed to his relatives at Urbino, while his unfinished pictures and drawings were left to his scholars Giulio Romano and

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Francesco Penni. On the evening of Good Friday, the 6th of April, he passed away, having just completed his thirty-seventh year. The next day he lay in state in the hall of the palace which his own hands had decorated, with the unfinished *Transfiguration* at the head of his bed, and the crowds who came to look their last on the master's face burst into sobs and tears at the sight of the dead painter and his living work. At evening all the artists in Rome followed him to the grave which he had chosen before the altar of Our Lady under the Pantheon dome.

The consternation of the papal Court at the great master's sudden and untimely end is described in many letters written from Rome that Eastertide. The Pope himself wept bitterly, and the walls of the Vatican loggie which Raphael had decorated cracked and seemed about to crumble to pieces.

“For the moment,” wrote Pandolfo della Mirandola to his illustrious friend, the Marchesa Isabella, “I have but one thing to tell your Highness. This is the death of Raphael of Urbino, who passed away last night, that is to say, on the evening of Good Friday, leaving this Court plunged in the most profound and universal grief for the ruin of those high hopes that were entertained of the great works that he would do, and which, had he lived to realize them, would have been the glory of the age. And indeed, as everyone says, we had a right to expect the greatest things from him, seeing those which he had already accomplished, and the still grander works which he had begun. The heavens have foretold this sad event by one of those signs which marked the death of Christ, when the rocks were opened, ‘Lapides scissi sunt.’ The Pope’s palace has cracked in such a manner that the building is threatened with ruin, and his Holiness has fled in terror from his rooms and taken shelter in those of

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Pope Innocent VIII. Here we talk of nothing but the death of this great man who has ended his first life at the age of thirty-three. His second life, that immortal fame which fears neither death nor time, will endure for ever, both because of his works and of the labours of the scholars who will write his praises and who will find him an unfailing theme."

The Venetian scholar, Marc Antonio Michieli, wrote in the same strain to his friends at home :

"On the night of Good Friday, that most gentle and excellent of painters, Raphael of Urbino, died, to the infinite grief of all men, but especially of the learned, for whom, even more than for painters and architects, he was preparing a plan of the old monuments of Rome, with their forms and ornaments so correctly drawn that to see this would have been to see the ancient city. Now this glorious work is interrupted by the hand of envious death, who has robbed us of this youthful master at the age of thirty-four, on his own birthday. The Pope himself is plunged in grief, and during the fortnight of the painter's illness sent six times to make inquiries and condole with him. Judge by this what others have done! . . . And indeed, a most rare and excellent master has passed away, and every gentle soul must grieve to think that he is gone. His body has been honourably buried in the Rotunda, and his spirit is doubtless gone to gaze on those heavenly mansions where there can be no decay. Michelangelo is said to be ill in Florence. Tell our Catena to take care, for this is a fatal time for great painters."

Even Sebastiano del Piombo, Raphael's bitter enemy, for once dropped his railing tone and remarked in a letter to Michelangelo : "You will have heard of the death of that poor Raphael of Urbino, and the news, I know, will have grieved you sorely. May God

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grant him pardon!" The humanists who lamented his premature death, and the friends who had loved him, Castiglione and Tebaldeo, Ariosto and Celio Calcagnini, poured forth a stream of sonnets and elegies to his memory, and Bembo composed an elegant Latin epitaph which was inscribed upon the wall above his tomb in the Pantheon.

"God has taken from us what he had given to no other mortal," were Isabella d'Este's words when she received the news of Raphael's death. Her judgment was confirmed twenty years afterwards by Michelangelo's devoted scholar and admirer, Giorgio Vasari.

"O most happy and thrice blessed spirit—whom all men delight to praise!" he exclaims at the close of his life of Raphael, "whose deeds everyone celebrates, and whose smallest drawing is admired and sought after. . . . In this painter, indeed, art, colouring, and invention were carried to a perfection which we could hardly hope to see, and no other master can ever dream of surpassing him."

But more eloquent in its simplicity than any of these splendid tributes to the painter's memory was the cry that broke from the lips of Castiglione when he came back to Rome three months after Raphael's death, and found himself without his friend. "I am well in health," he wrote to his mother at Mantua, "but can hardly believe that I am in Rome, now that my poor Raphael is no longer here. May God keep that blessed soul!"

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